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The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL HUMOR USED BY EGYPTIAN
FACEBOOK USERS

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Applied Linguistics

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for

The Degree of Master of Arts in Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language

by

Shereen Elshindy

Under the supervision of Dr. Mona Kamel

December 2018

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would first like to express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to the greatest woman ever, my mother, for the endless love and support throughout my master's degree journey and throughout my whole life. The journey would not have been possible without all the care, tolerance, love, and help I received from my mother.

To my great father, all I can say is thank you for supporting me emotionally and financially. You have been always encouraging me to refuse to be anything but successful. I always knew that you wanted the best for me.

To my sister Shaimaa Elshindy, my brother, Mohamed Elshindy, and my great nephew Abdel Rahman Mustafa, thank you all for being there encouraging and supporting.

I would also like to express my deepest thanks to my professors who have been always my source of knowledge and guidance throughout my years of study. I would like to thank Dr. Mona Kamel for her supervision and support to help me finish my thesis work as I wished. I am also grateful to Dr. Raghda El Essawi for all the knowledge, support and guidance she gave us as either as a professor or as the head of TAFL program. Personally, I would like to thank Dr. Zeinab Taha who took us to the interesting world of sociolinguistics and pragmatics.

To my dearest friend, sister and master's journey partner, Noha Enab, I would like to thank you from the bottom of my heart for being my backbone and support system during the ups and downs of this tough journey. I would also like to thank my dear friend and master's fellow, Amara Eid for the endless help and giving. I would also like to show deep appreciation and thanks to Hasnaa Essam, my master's fellow who offered me great help during writing my thesis.

Finally, my deepest thanks to my friends and master's journey fellows, Hagar Lotfi, Mohamed Bayoumi, Mohamed Hassan, Yehia Refaat, and Mukhtar ElSayyed. You all made the journey an easier and wonderful one. Thank you all for all the wonderful moments we shared together.

ABSTRACT

Political humor has always been a powerful tool to convey messages of resistance, criticism, sarcasm, etc. The growth of digital tools and social networking sites has provided a new platform for the creation and sharing of political humor. This study explores the functions of political humor employed by Egyptian users of Facebook (FB) in reaction to a number of political events and difficult circumstances through investigating the pragmatic functions of a number of humorous posts published on two satirical public FB pages /portō ṭora min ḥajlika ḥant/ and /sōbar faḥxa/. Fifty-nine posts have been selected for analysis. The selected posts focused on two main themes: The Egyptian presidential elections in 2018, and price inflation, the latter including the subcategories of metro tickets, fuel, vegetables, clothes and others. Results of the study revealed that posts during the elections performed assertion of the lack of real democracy, as well as protest against the bad electoral process. On the other hand, posts addressing price increases performed complaint about the impact on citizens' life. Furthermore, the pragmatic functions detected in this study show that humor functions as a tool to vent frustration, and to express resistance indirectly in the absence of more direct tools to implement change and express resistance, and in an environment where both the lack of democracy and fear of suppression dominate

Keywords: humor, political humor, pragmatic functions, Speech Act Theory, Facebook.

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TRANSLITERATION PHONETICS ALPAPET¹

Letter/Vowel/Diacritic	Symbol	Letter/Vowel/Diacritic	Symbol
اَ	A	س	S
اِ	i,e	ش	ʃ
اُ	o,u	ص	ʂ
ء	ʔ	ض	ḍ
آ	ā	ط	ṭ
ب	b	ظ	ẓ
ت	t	ع	ʕ
ث	θ	غ	ġ
ج	g,j	ف	f
ح	ħ	ق	q
خ	x	ك	k
د	d	ل	l
ذ	ḏ	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	ه	h
		و (Consonant)	w
		و (Long vowel)	ū/ō
		ي (Consonant)	y
		ي (Long vowel)	ī/ē

¹ The transliteration sounds are adapted from the International Phonetics Alphabet (IPA), Ahmed Mukhtar Omar's list of Arabic speech sounds (1997), and Bo Isaksson's list of Arabic transcription.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

As the use of social media has spread, it has become an essential part of millions of peoples' daily communication, not excluding Egypt, a phenomenon has emerged in plain sight to any Egyptian user of Facebook FB. This phenomenon is the use of humor in response to day-to-day changes on the political scene, through social media in general and FB in particular. Additionally, successive political changes that have taken place since the uprising in Egypt in early 2011 have played a significant role in stimulating Egyptians to create and use more of political humor. Social media provides a platform where users are allowed to communicate their views and interact with a broad and varied connections. Therefore, this research investigates the pragmatic functions of humorous political posts published on FB in order to explore the functions of using political humor through the indirect speech act framework proposed by (Searle, 1975).

This study argues that humor and jokes circulate among Egyptian FB users as a reaction to difficult political and economic circumstances not only a strategy of amusement and fun, but also as a representation of hidden messages. In other words, those who write humorous posts have an intention beyond the literal meaning of the words of the jokes. Humor is a multi-purpose tool and in addition to being pleasant, communicators believe that it has a power of persuasion. Further, humor is considered valuable and influential because it is counted as a social phenomenon which has purposeful impact on its receivers due to its receiver-centered nature (Meyer, 2000). Humor can work as a weapon to attack, ridicule, and criticize others (Peifer, 2012). According to Helmy and Frerichs, (2013), humor, especially political humor, is both a 'sword and a shield' (p.1). In other words, political humor has a dual nature: a sword to attack and a shield to reduce the fears. Also, political humor is an essential part of society's political life (Peifer, 2012). It can be a powerful tool in political activism by fulfilling purposes such as grabbing attention, and unifying humor receivers against authorities by

establishing solidarity among them (Pearce & Hajizada, 2014). Furthermore, political humor can have an effective function by attracting people who are not typically interested in political affairs, which can sometimes result in shaping people's ideas about politics (Baum, 2003). Political jokes are viewed as a tool of resistance, especially when people have fears due to lack of democracy and/or freedom of speech in their societies. In the case of suppression and lack of freedom, indirect strategies including humor are used as a tool of resistance.

Political humor shared and circulated by members of FB is not only presented through individual-to-individual interaction, but also through public Facebook pages which have been developed by Egyptians specifically to address politics in a humorous sarcastic way, such as /portō tora min ʔajlika ʔant/, /sōbar faʔxa/, and Asa7be Sarcasm Society. These pages are attractive to FB users as they are followed by a large community and serve as database of humorous posts. The biography of each page shows the purpose of developing the pages, which represents people's daily sufferings caused by pressing economic and political circumstances. No information regarding the names, backgrounds, or education of the pages' developers are provided on any of the pages. Additionally, these sarcastic pages claim to have neutral attitude toward politics with no bias towards or affiliation with any specific political party or view.

FB allows us to trace how many times posts and jokes are shared and circulated among users. In his study, El Khachab (2017) reported that sarcastic Egyptian FB pages such as Asa7be Sarcasm Society are updated every day with comics and memes which are widely shared. El Khachab gave an example of a post which, at the time his article was published, had been liked 80,000 times and shared around 180,000 times. The number of shares and likes this post received shows how extensively these posts are exchanged by the members of the social media community. Consequently, this indicates how the impact of those posts on the users of social media is widespread.

This study, like those of (Sharp,1973; Scott, 1990; Ostrower, 2000; Hassan,2103; Tekinalp, 2016) suggests that political humor is employed to carry out certain functions such as protest, resistance, defence, etc.. The researcher hypothesizes that when FB users create, share, and circulate humorous posts to respond to political changes, they intend to give an indirect message rather than just making fun. FB users employ humor as an indirect way to resist or protest against government decisions, or to predict that situations might get worse in the future. In other words, creators of humorous posts perform certain speech acts within the jokes they create and share. Austin (1962), proposed that language is used to do things or to perform acts, not only to tell true or false statements. He argued that people use language to perform certain acts the same way they do physical actions. It is not about the literal meaning of what we say, there is an intended meaning beyond what we say. For example, we give orders, make requests, give advice, and so on. Austin argued that everything we say comprises three acts, locutionary act, illocutionary act and the perlocutionary act. The locutionary act indicates the literal meaning of speaker's words. The illocutionary act refers to the speaker's intention when uttering the words (such as a complaint, a request). The perlocutionary act refers to the effect this utterance has on the thoughts or behaviour of the hearer (i.e. responding to the request) (Paltridge, 2012). Austin's work was developed by (Searle,1969). In 1979, Searle criticized Austin's work and proposed an alternative taxonomy of speech acts built on the notions introduced by Austin. Searle proposed a taxonomy of five categories of speech acts based on a number of conditions, among which illocutionary point and direction of fit are the most important. The categories of speech acts proposed by Searle are, representatives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives.

Accordingly, the present study aims to investigate the pragmatic functions of humorous posts shared among social media users, particularly FB, by analysing humorous posts collected and

shared on the two public pages /portō ṭora min ʔajlika ʔant/, and /sōbar faḵxa/², (reasons for choosing these two pages in particular are discussed in chapter 3) through the framework of Searle's Speech Acts Theory.

1.1. Theoretical background of studies on humor and pragmatics:

This part reviews studies tackling the main theories about humor as well as theories on pragmatics. In relation to humour, theorists have provided three main approaches to humor, namely, incongruity, superiority, and relief theories. While incongruity theory is grounded in cognitive science, the superiority theory takes a sociological approach to humor while the relief theory is a psychological one. First, the incongruity theory is a cognitive theory as it addresses the processes through which humor is understood and perceived. It also explores how humor works, or how the mechanism of humor works by suggesting that humour stems from the difference between what people expect and what they actually hear (Berger, 2017). Humor emerges when there is a contradiction of logic, or an outcome which is different from that which was expected. People laugh when they are surprised. Second, the superiority theory explores the social function of humor. It suggests that people laugh at others when they find themselves superior to or at a higher social rank than them (Meyer, 2000). As for the relief theory it reflects the psychological function of humor. Freud, (1960) proposes that humor is a strategy used to release tension. When fears and negative energy is accumulated in human body, humor acts as a tool to discharge these energies. Freud combined elements of both the relief and the incongruity theories.

² /portō ṭora min ʔajlika ʔant/ is a name of FB page, the name refers to the prison in which the men of power are detained. portō is a name of luxurious resort where rich people spend their vacations, while ṭora is a name of one of the biggest prisons in Egypt. "Portō ṭora" refers to the luxurious prisons, or the prisons in which politicians and men of power stay after being arrested in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution in 2011. The other page's name, /sōbar faḵxa/, refers to the great sufferings Egyptians go through. The word /sōbar/ means super while the word /faḵxa/ is an expletive which has been recently used by some Egyptians to refer to sufferings, hardships, or struggles.

In his study Hassan (2013) states that incongruity theory uncovers the mechanism of how humor works, while superiority and relief theories introduce the functions or the reasons beyond the use of humor. Incongruity theory is considered the umbrella term under which all instances of humor work. (Latta, 1998).

There have been several studies investigating the functions of political humor. Both Sharp (1973) and Scott (1990) proposed that humorous tools such as jokes, folktales, and songs, have historically been employed as strategies of nonviolent methods of resistance. Additionally, political jokes have been always considered an instrument of dissent and criticism (Shehata, 1992). The two researchers Ostrower (2000) and Tekinalp (2016) concluded that humor functioned as a defense mechanism during the holocaust. In Egypt, political humor has played a role in Egyptians' political life since the time of pharaohs (El Amrani, 2011). Egyptians used political jokes to criticize their leaders when they were not able to use the direct tools of criticism due to lack of both democracy and freedom of speech (Shehata, 1992). Since the Egyptian revolution in 2011 until the present day, political humor has played a significant role in Egypt's political discourse. According to Helmy and Frerichs (2013), Mersal (2011), and Anagondahalli and Khamis(2014) humor during the Egyptian revolution in 2011 such that which ridiculed Mubarak, helped to break fear, making protestors more powerful than the president, and strengthened resistance by providing a safe atmosphere for demonstrators.

Furthermore, social media platforms are rich in humorous interactions targeting politics. Digital humor is attractive to its audience as it receives a lot of "likes" and "shares" and "re-tweets" (Pearce & Hajizada, 2014, p.7). Moalla, (2015) concluded that Tunisians used humor on FB to feel the self-esteem and sense of freedom in the aftermath of the Tunisian revolution. In Egypt, El Khachab, (2016) found that internet humorous memes were created to accuse the authorities of the power outage. In brief, previous research has showed that humor has historically been used as a tool to resist adverse political circumstances.

As previously mentioned, the Speech Acts theory suggests that people perform acts using words. In his study (Hassan, 2013) concluded that humor during the 2011 Egyptian revolution functioned as a speech act of resistance. Hassan argued that the humor used by demonstrators functioned as declarative speech acts, as individuals declared their resistance. Further, Grundlingh (2018) showed that internet memes can be successfully employed among internet users to fulfil communicative purposes, such as asking questions, or expressing opinions. Moreover, Aarons and Mierowsky (2017) argued that stand-up comedies performed speech acts of reassurance, indirect threat, insult, accusation, humiliation, reduction, malign, derision and stereotype, among others.

1.2. Importance of the study and Statement of the problem

Exploring the pragmatic functions of humor in the posts of Egyptian FB users within the current political context is significant because it helps to elucidate the messages that the creators of posts want to convey. Several studies have investigated the functions of political humor through frameworks other than pragmatics such as anthropological, or psychological frameworks. However, little attention has been given to a pragmatic analysis of political humor. Therefore, this study makes an important contribution to the field of pragmatics in addition to providing a deep understanding of the functions of political humor. Additionally, the present study provides one of the first investigations of the pragmatics of political humor in Arabic. It is worth mentioning that most of the humor posts gathered in the present data are in colloquial Egyptian with a few borrowing from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Furthermore, FB, as a social networking site, has become a significant tool of communication as it attracts millions of users who have integrated social networking sites into their daily practices (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Therefore, the investigation of the pragmatic functions of political humor presented by Egyptian FB users is significant as it aims at filling in some gaps in this research area.

This study explores the pragmatic functions of political humor presented by Egyptian FB users within the framework of speech acts. Indirect speech acts proposed by Searle (1975) along with Searle's (1976) speech acts taxonomy are used to analyse the data of the present study. Searle stated that the meaning of the speaker's utterance is direct when there is direct relationship between the form and function. In contrast, when there is no direct relationship between form and function, the speaker's meaning is indirect such as the case of hints and irony. In this case an indirect speech act is performed in the utterance where two illocutionary acts are performed. One act is performed by another. Searle suggested that the indirect illocutionary act, that reflects the non-literal meaning or the speaker's intention beyond the uttered words, works as a primary illocutionary act. The primary illocutionary act is performed by the direct illocutionary act which works as a secondary illocutionary speech act. In other words, the secondary illocutionary act is the vehicle used to perform the primary one. Dascal (1985) confirmed the indirectness of jokes and suggested that the pragmatic interpretation of jokes is the hearer's responsibility. The hearer should rely on hints and clues as well as a shared background with the speaker, while the speaker's responsibility is to consider the hearers background and pragmatic competence before telling the joke. The indirect nature of humor makes it possible to consider political humor as indirect speech act (Hassan, 2013).

Thus, focus of the present study is to explore the pragmatic functions performed in the primary speech acts appeared in the political humorous posts on FB, as well as the secondary speech acts by which the primary acts have been performed. The FB posts selected for this research target two topics, Egypt's presidential elections in 2018, and price increases (fuel, metro tickets, clothing, potatoes and prices in general). The aim of the research is to investigate the implied purposes of using humor in the political context, other than just making fun or amusement. The data is collected from the two FB public pages, portō ṭora min ʔajlika ʔant,

and sōbar fajxa. The two pages are considered as a database for political humorous posts as they collect posts created by many users and publish them to their time lines.

Based on the work of Searle and Dascal, an interpretation of the political humor investigated in the current study is done from the perspective of the researcher who is aware of and actually shares the context within which such posts were made and is one of the members of the society which such posts targets.

1.3. Research questions

Using a pragmatic approach to analyse the political humor adopted by Egyptian FB users will help understanding and interpreting its functions. Accordingly, this study attempts to investigate the pragmatic functions of political humor on FB by answering the following research questions:

- 1- What are the secondary (literal - direct) speech acts performed in the humorous posts targeting the presidential elections and the prices increase?
- 2- What are the pragmatic functions performed by the primary (non-literal - indirect) speech acts performed in the humorous posts targeting the presidential elections and the prices increase?
- 3- What is the role played by the humorous posts in the contexts of the presidential elections and the price increase?

1.4. Operational definition

Humor:

Humor is a comic, absurd, or incongruous quality causing amusement.

Political humor:

Political humor is “an umbrella term that encompasses any humorous text dealing with political issues, people, events, processes, or institutions” (Young, 2014, p.3)

Pragmatics:

Pragmatics is the study of meaning in relation to the context in which a person is speaking or writing. The context could be textual, situational, or social. (Paltridge, 2012)

Speech acts:

A speech act is an act that a speaker performs when making an utterance.

Secondary speech acts:

The speech acts performed in the direct (literal) meaning of the humorous posts.

Primary speech acts:

The speech acts performed in the indirect (non-literal) meaning of the humorous posts.

Representatives:

A speech act category of Searle's (1976) taxonomy. This category represents the speaker's belief in something that could be true or false. It commits the speaker to the truth of a given proposition, such as (assert, state, swear, conclude, boast, suggest, put forward, deduce, complain).

Directives:

Category of Searle's speech act taxonomy where the speaker attempts to get the hearer to perform a course of action, such as (direct, request, ask, beg, demand, forbid, suggest, command, order, recommend, implore, insist).

Commissives:

A speech act category where the speaker commits himself to a future course of action (promise, threaten, vow, refuse, assure, guarantee, swear, bet, consent).

Expressives:

A speech act category where the speaker expresses his/her psychological state to the addressee. (thank, congratulate, condole, deplore, welcome, apologize).

Declaratives:

Category of Searle's speech act taxonomy, occur when we bring out a change to the world with our utterance. They express the correspondence between the propositional content and reality. (declare, appoint, fire, confirm, name, endorse, pronounce, announce).

Assert:

A speech act in the representatives category where the speaker states a fact or belief confidently.

Complain:

A speech act in the representatives category where the speaker expresses dissatisfaction or annoyance about something.

Predict:

A speech act in the representatives category where the speaker says or estimates that a specified thing will happen in the future or will be a consequence of something.

Describe:

A speech act in the representatives category where people give a written or spoken report of how something is done or of what someone or something is like

Protest:

A speech act in the expressives category where the speaker expresses an objection to what others have said or done.

Social Networking Sites (SNSs):

SNSs are a form of Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) which have been defined by (Boyd & Ellison, 2007) as web-based platforms which enable their users to (1) create a public or semi-public profile in a limited system, (2) form a list of other users to whom they are connected, and (3) view the connections in their lists and lists of others.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, relevant literature addressing the functions of political humor is reviewed in a thematic order, then each theme is reviewed chronologically. First, the definition and a broad outline of the main theories on humor are introduced. Next, all genres that would help in conducting this research are reviewed. The genres reviewed are, political humor, political humor in Egypt, and practice of political humor on Social Networking Sites (SNSs) in both international and Egyptian politics. Finally, previous studies which investigated humor within the Speech Act Theory are also reviewed. The theory of indirect Speech Acts, introduced by Searle, (1975) as well as (Searle, 1976) taxonomy of speech acts are illustrated as the framework through which data in this study is analyzed to investigate the pragmatic functions of humorous political posts used by FB users in Egypt.

2.1. Humor

Humor is considered a cognitive experience containing an internal redefining of sociocultural reality which results in a cheerful state of mind, which sometimes presents itself in the form of laughter (Apte, 1985). Three main theories on humor have been historically introduced, namely, the incongruity theory, the superiority theory and the relief theory.

Incongruity theory was first introduced by Aristotle who proposed that humor emerges when people form certain expectations, and then find something different from what they are expecting. In the eighteenth century, Kant developed the theory of incongruity further. He believed that humor arises as a result of "the sudden transformation of a strained expectation into nothing." (Ibraheem & Abbas, 2016, p.3). The incongruity theory explains the linguistic mechanism of humor. According to the aforementioned theory, people laugh when the actual outcome conflicts with what is expected (Hassan, 2013). In other words, humor is stimulated in the mind of the receiver when an expected pattern is violated, and when the difference between what is expected and what is actually said is close enough to be nonthreatening, but

different enough to be noticeable, it is neither too shocking nor too regular (Meyer, 2000). Moreover, humor receivers laugh at what surprises them, or what is odd or irregular. This means that those towards whom humor is directed should first share a common and expected knowledge about reality in order to recognize the unexpected. Incongruity focuses on the cognitive side. The receivers must have the mental ability to notice, comprehend, and categorize incongruous changes. Surprise is an essential part of humor in the incongruity concept (Shurcliff, 1968).

In relation to the superiority theory of humor it was proposed by Plato, Aristotle, and Hobbes. The theory suggests that people laugh when they feel superior to others. The English philosopher Hobbes proposed that "the passion of laughter is nothing else but some sudden glory arising from some sudden conception of some eminence in ourselves, by comparison with the infirmity of others, or with our own formerly" (Martin, 1998, p.14). Thus, humor occurs due to a sense of superiority resulting from the disparagement of others or of one's own past mistakes or foolishness (Martin, 1998). Additionally, Martin posits that the feeling of mirth is also derived from superiority. This superiority could be shown clearly to others through laughter. The unaccepted feelings of threat people feel when they get laughed at is caused by humorous yet superior messages. Superiority is not usually an amusing type of humor for those who are exposed to it (Meyer, 2000).

As for the relief theory it emphasizes the physiological release of tension. People practice humor to get rid of negative emotions and to reduce stress and tension. According to Freud, (1960), humor stems in situations in which persons would experience negative feelings such as anger, sadness, or fear, but the existence of pleasant or incongruous elements in the situation helps them to avoid experiencing these negative effects. The pleasure of humor in Freud's view, is derived from the release of energy associated with this painful emotion. In a similar vein, (Berlyne, 1972) stated that humor results in a discharge of nervous energy. This reduction

may produce humor by reducing the state of arousal or increasing the arousal, depending on the perspective.

2.2. Political humor

Sharp (1973) gave a representation of humor within the methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion. Sharp posits that certain methods such as a play of political satire, a humorous skit, or a prank, could all be effective strategies to show political dissent. Further, political jokes in countries ruled by a dictator, are commonly passed from one person to another and considered a tool of public political protest.

More recent evidence by Scott (1990) confirmed the same facts mentioned by Sharp. He stated that when inferior, suppressed groups resist dominating superior groups, such as the case of poor workers against property owners, or slaves against their owners, they avoid direct acts of confrontation. The inferior groups in such cases might use indirectness and anonymity to protest by adopting strategies such as jokes, folktales and songs, for example, strategies which have a double meaning serve as a way to hide the identity of the protestors. In his article, Shehata (1992) stated that historically, political jokes have been an instrument of dissent and criticism. Shehata mentioned many countries where political jokes were an essential tool of resistance such as, Romania, Poland, Hungary, China, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Spain, and Greece.

In an attempt to investigate the types and the functions of humor during one of the most tragic events in history, Ostrower (2000) conducted his study on humor as a defense mechanism in the Holocaust. Ostrower interviewed 55 survivors of the Jewish Holocaust (24 men and 31 women) who were teenagers during the time of the Holocaust, and considered the ways in which they used or experienced humor during this period in their lives. The participants were asked to describe humor during the Holocaust. Findings of the study showed that humor in the Holocaust performed many functions such as acting as a defense mechanism, as well as

aggressive, sexual, social, and intellectual functions. Findings of this study showed that the defense mechanism function was the most prominent of the types, with a percentage of 60% of the participants' inputs about humor. Findings further showed that using humor during the Holocaust did not decrease the threat or horror, it merely provided a means for survival, helping Jews to cope with the horrifying situation.

In a differing political context Tekinalp (2016), investigated the methods of protest against the authoritarian regime during the Istanbul Gezi Park protest which took place in May 2013 at Taksim Gezi Park within humor theories. The purpose of the protest was to reject the removal of the park's trees to reconstruct historical artillery barracks instead. The police attacked the sit-in so the purpose of the protest changed to be an anti-government protest. Protestors started using resistance tools among which humorous graffiti was an important one. Tekinalp examined how protestors expressed their needs and priorities through humor by selecting fifteen examples of graffiti and banners used during the protest. He used internet websites as a source of data. All of the graffiti contains either criticism or concern for the prime minister and police violence, or demands for freedom and democracy. Tekinalp uses discourse analysis approach in order to consider the metaphoric and ironic structures through linguistic tools such as intertextuality, social language, and figured world. Results of the study showed that humorous graffiti functions as criticism of and complaint against government and violence against protests, as well as demands for democracy and a more understanding government. Results also showed that the protestors used a language which was gently sarcastic, ironical in a tolerant style, cheerful, and amusing even in a particularly difficult time. One of the important findings of this study is that protestors were able to create ironic defenses to practice a soft indirect control, or superiority over the prime minister and the police.

2.3. Political humor in Egypt

Political humor has existed in Egypt since the Pharaonic time. Egyptians used political humor to ridicule their oppressive authorities. During the Roman rule in Egypt, Romans prohibited Egyptian advocates from practicing law because they believed that their habit of making fun and telling jokes would threaten the seriousness of the court. In the 14th century, the Arab philosopher Ibn Khaldun noted that Egyptians have a good sense of humor and they make fun of any serious topic (El Amrani, 2011). After the 1952 revolution when King Farouk was overthrown and replaced by the military regime, political freedoms and freedom of speech were greatly reduced. As a result, political jokes became an important tool Egyptians used to criticize their leaders and government when expressing political views directly became very dangerous (Shehata, 1992).

The most important political event that took place in Egypt over the past ten years was the Egyptian revolution against Mubarak's regime in January 2011. Up to now, little attention has been paid to investigate the role of humor in the Egyptian revolution. In their study Helmy and Frerichs (2013), investigated social and political functions of humor and their effect on keeping up the spirit of the Egyptian revolution in 2011. The researchers covered and analyzed instances of humor before, during, and post 2011 revolution through the social psychological framework. The researchers concluded that on the social level, humor made protestors in Tahrir feel at home and safe, thus they became stronger and were able to persist over 18 trying days in which they occupied the public space. On a political level however, they also found that humor was successful in achieving two salient goals. First, humor attacked the president and his regime aggressively yet non-violently. The second function performed by humor was that it broke fear; the protestors declared that they were not afraid anymore when they ridiculed Mubarak.

Further, Anagondahalli and Khamis (2014) compared the types and functions of humor before and during the 2011 Egyptian revolution. They carried out a textual analysis to examine the implicit and explicit meanings included in political jokes they gathered using an online search engine. Results indicated that practicing political humor during Mubarak's rule before the revolution, expressed dissent indirectly in an example of the 'Instrumental-Acceptance' (p.12) form of humor. The researchers reached this inference because their findings showed that pre-revolution humor had a more expressive nature. It was just used to express what couldn't be said directly. People expressed their feelings with no aim of change. On the other hand, humor during the revolution was direct and aggressive, taking aim at political and social change. The passive role of the public became active when the powerless became powerful, by criticizing Mubarak directly through jokes.

An important genre of political humor is political satire which was very influential and successful in Egypt, most notably in Bassem Youssef's show "*Albernameg*". Bassem Youssef was known as Egypt's Jon Stewart (Gordon & Arafa, 2014). Youssef started his show on YouTube in March 2011, one month after Mubarak resigned. In the first three months, Youssef's YouTube show got more than five million views. The show commonly criticized the performance of the Egyptian media during the 2011 revolution. Youssef started his show *Albernameg* on private Egyptian TV channels such as ONTV and CBC. Youssef ridiculed Morsi (the Egyptian president between 2012-2013) and his Islamist allies. In November 2013 *Albernameg* stopped after Youssef mocked Abdel Fattah El Sisi (the current Egyptian president) and his supporters (Ismail, 2014).

2.4. Political humor on Social Network Sites (SNSs)

As this study investigates political humor on Facebook, it is necessary to first provide a brief overview of Social Network Sites (SNSs), as a form of computer-mediated communication (CMC). SNSs are a form of CMC and have been defined by Boyd and Ellison (2007) as web-

based platforms which enable their users to 1) create a public or semi-public profile in a limited system, 2) form a list of other users to whom they are connected, and 3) view the connections in their lists and lists of others. Facebook is an example of an SNS that functions as a tool allowing individuals to practice self-presentation and interpersonal interaction (Carr, Schrock, & Dauterman, 2012). Most SNSs also allow users to write messages or comments on their connections' profiles as well as private messages through private chat rooms. SNSs such as Facebook and Twitter help individuals get and stay connected to friends as well as searching for new friends, exploring unlimited topics, posting status updates about their own lives (Joinson, 2008).

By drawing upon the effect of political humor among Facebook users, Pearce and Hajizada, (2014), stated that the combination of politics, humor, and social media should be a powerful one. The study clarified that creating political or humorous content is no longer limited to professionals, the rapid growth and widespread use of digital tools and SNSs has made it possible for any individual to develop political and humorous content making what is called user-generated content. Much of the user-generated content is humorous (Limor, 2011). Pearce and Hajizada (2014) suggested that digital humor is attractive to its audience as it receives a lot of "likes", "shares" and "re-tweets" (p.7). The researchers claimed that digital political humor was an effective and influential tool in the case of Azerbaijan since in a unique example the Azerbaijani government itself adopted the strategy of using humor on social media in order to attack protestors. A qualitative study by Moalla (2015) investigated the political humor on FB in the aftermath of the Tunisian revolution. In the Tunisian case humor wasn't a tool of protest or resistance because according to the researcher's words, the phenomenon of generating political jokes on FB started only after Ben Ali, the former Tunisian president, had left the country. This scenario is different from the case in Egypt where humor was used before, during, and after the revolution. Therefore, the researcher examined Tunisians' social and

psychological experiences relating to the use of humor on FB after revolution using two procedures. First, FB political jokes targeting the ex-president were collected and analyzed both semantically and cognitively. Second, the perception of humor on FB was investigated by asking 60 Tunisian faculty students about their opinions about the use of FB jokes. The semantic analysis of jokes showed that Tunisians used humor to maintain their dignity and self-esteem, and to explore a sense of freedom. The interviews showed that Tunisians perceived humor as a tool for taking revenge, enjoying a sense of freedom and liberation, and implying criticism.

Further, Internet memes are a recent form of internet humor which cannot be neglected. Internet memes have been defined as the “propagation of content such as jokes, rumors, videos, or websites from one person to others via the Internet” (Shifman, 2013, p.362). In their article Ross and Rivers (2017), analyzed internet memes generated during the US presidential elections in 2016 to show how meme creators portrayed the presidential candidates Donald Trump and Hilary Clinton. The analysis showed that the main purpose of creating and sharing internet memes during the US elections in 2016 was to delegitimize the targeted candidate in an attempt to direct voters to choose the other candidate. They argued that meme creators aimed to create and spread specific messages in an attempt to influence others.

In the case of internet humor in Egypt, El Khachab (2016) has discussed the use of memes in Egypt to criticize the frequent power outages during 2012 to 2014 presidential elections. The humorous memes on elections were published on sarcastic popular FB pages such as “Asa7be” or “Egypt’s Sarcasm Society”. Khachab showed that joking and humor on FB was utilized to criticize the state, accusing it of causing the power cuts intentionally. He analyzed the combination of both visual and textual components of the humorous memes and how this combination was introduced by complaining and criticizing the failure of electricity infrastructure.

2.5. Speech Act Theory

As this research investigates the pragmatic functions of humor through the indirect speech acts proposed by (Searle, 1975) along with (Searle, 1976) speech acts taxonomy, this section sheds light on the evolving of the Speech Act Theory.

Austin (1962) claimed that everything people say can be interpreted as the performance of an act, not only as a statement. The theory of speech acts illustrates that what people do when they speak is not only to create the sequences of words or sentences of which human communication consists, but rather to perform specific acts through the utterance of words (Sameer, 2017). For example, making a request, an apology, giving an order, etc. As previously stated, Austin proposed the idea of an illocutionary act. He said that each utterance produced by speakers has three layers: the locutionary act, the illocutionary act and the perlocutionary act. The locutionary act refers to the literal meaning of the words uttered by a speaker. The illocutionary act refers to the speakers' intentions associated with the words uttered or the function intended by those words. The perlocutionary act is the effect of the words on the hearer. For example, when someone says it is hot in here, the locutionary act is to describe the room temperature, the illocutionary act is a complaint about the heat, or a request to turn on the air conditioning, and the perlocutionary act is that the hearer turns on the air conditioning. Austin introduces the notion of felicity conditions. He argued that certain conditions must be available to make a speech act work (Paltridge, 2012). Austin argued that this act must be carried out correctly and completely. In other words, the procedure must be achieved by the right person, in the right place, at the right time and, normally, with a certain intention, otherwise it will not be possible. Austin classified the illocutionary acts into main five categories, *verdictives*, *exercitives*, *commissives*, *behabitives*, and *expositives*.

Verdictives are when a person comes to a verdict or makes a judgement (acquitting, holding, calculating, describing, analyzing, estimating, dating, ranking, assessing, and characterizing)

Exercitives are speech acts which put power, influence, or rights into practice, for example, (ordering, commanding, directing, pleading, begging and recommending).

Commissives are when the speakers commit themselves to a certain course of action (promising, vowing, pledging, making a covenant, contract, guarantee, embracing, and swearing).

Expositives are those acts used for explaining views or conducting an argument, such as (affirming, denying, emphasizing, illustrating, answering, reporting, accepting, objecting to, conceding, describing, classing, identifying and calling).

Behabitives are reactions to other people's behavior, including (apologies, thanking, deploring and commiserating). Based on Austin's work, Searle, (1976) built up his taxonomy of speech acts. Searle criticized Austin's work and proposed his own classification of speech acts. He summed up the weaknesses in Austin's taxonomy in six points. First he identified a conflict between verbs and their corresponding acts. The verbs proposed by Austin are not all illocutionary verbs, Searle claimed, identifying an overlap between the categories, stating that the categories are internally inconsistent, that not all the verbs listed in the categories meet the definition introduced by the category, and that there is no persistent principle through which to classify the illocutionary acts. Searle (1976) built his classification of illocutionary acts around three main aspects: the illocutionary point, direction of fit, and sincerity conditions. These criteria allow for a distinction to be made between illocutionary points and the intention of the utterances. For example, while requests and commands have the same illocutionary point, which is that of attempting to get the hearer to do something, yet both have different illocutionary forces, the former of asking someone to do something and the later of giving an order for something to be done. Searle argued that the illocutionary point is part of but not equal to illocutionary force. The second criteria on which he built his taxonomy is the direction

of fit between words and the world. He explained that promises and requests for instance have a world to word direction of fit. In other words, speakers use words to change the world or to make the world fit the word. In the case of requesting, the speaker says words that would cause an action to take place in the real world, as the speaker expects the hearer to do something to fulfill his request. By contrast, describing has a word to world direction. When we use words to describe, we make our words fit the world. Another important difference between illocutionary acts is the difference between expressed psychological states. When a person promises or threatens, it means that he is intending on carrying out something specific. When a speaker orders or commands, s/he expresses a desire or a wish. In the case of apologizing, the speaker expresses regret.

Accordingly, Searle presented an alternative taxonomy of speech acts by categorizing them into five main categories as follows:

1- Representatives: This category represents the speaker's belief that something is true or false. It commits the speaker to the truth of a given proposition. Utterances could perform swearing, concluding, boasting, suggesting, putting forward, deduction and complaint.

2-Directives: These acts are carried out when the speaker attempts to get the hearer to perform a course of action, such as directing, requesting, asking, begging, demanding, forbidding, suggesting, commanding, ordering, recommending, imploring or insisting.

3- Commissives: The speaker commits himself to a future course of action, such as promising, threatening, vowing, refusing, assuring, guaranteeing, swearing, betting or consenting.

4- Expressives: These acts occur when the speaker expresses his/her psychological state to the addressee, encompassing thanking, congratulating, condoling, deploring, welcoming and apologizing.

5- Declaratives: Occur when we bring out a change to the world with our utterance. They express a correspondence between the propositional content and reality, such as declaring, appointing, firing, confirming, naming, endorsing, pronouncing and renouncing.

2.5.1. Indirect speech acts

Searle (1975) suggested that the simplest instances of meaning occur when a speaker utters words and intends the literal meaning of those words. In the case of hints, metaphor, irony, and insinuations however things aren't so simple. The speaker produces an utterance with two meanings, a literal meaning as well as an additional meaning. In such cases the utterance has two illocutionary forces. It contains an illocutionary act that can be uttered to perform an additional illocutionary act. For example, when a speaker asks the question "can you reach the salt?" (p.65) the question consists of the illocutionary act of asking if the hearer is able to reach the salt, while in fact functioning as the additional illocutionary act of a request to pass the salt.

In the case of indirect speech acts, the speaker says something that may carry the meaning of the utterance, or something different altogether. "[T]he relationship between the surface form of an utterance and its underlying purpose isn't always straightforward" (Asher & Lascarides, 2001, p.183) Searle raised the question of how hearers perceive the indirect speech act when the sentence has a meaning beyond the literal one that they hear and understand. Searle stated that in indirect speech acts, when the speaker intends a meaning additional to what he actually says, he relies on a background information, both linguistic and non-linguistic, between the speaker and the hearer. Of equal importance is the hearer's ability to make inferences, and the context.

Searle argued that there are two types of indirect speech acts. The first is the type of indirect speech act that contains two illocutionary acts, a primary illocutionary act, and a secondary illocutionary act. Primary illocutionary acts indicate the speaker's intention, while secondary illocutionary acts show the literal meaning of the uttered sentence. In the following example:

X: Let's go to the movies tonight

Y: I have to study for an exam

In Y's sentence the primary illocutionary act is to reject X's proposal. The secondary one is an assertion: Y asserts that he has to study for an exam.

Here, Y's rejection of the invitation is the non-literal primary speech act, while the literal secondary speech act is asserting to the hearer that he has to study.

There is a second type of indirect speech act which consists of only one indirect illocutionary act. For example, when a speaker says

Can you please be quiet?

The utterance is an indirect request, with no secondary function of asking the hearer about their ability to be quiet.

Searle clarified that the conclusion of the primary illocutionary act or the indirect speech act is probabilistic.

2.5.2. Speech act of humor

Analyzing the indirect speech act of humor makes it necessary to draw on Dascal's (1985) work on the indirectness of jokes and their pragmatic interpretation by hearers. Dascal argued that when meanings are implicit, as in the case of jokes, 'conversational implicatures' are carried in the meaning. Conversational implicatures are the implicit or indirect speech acts which are not part of what the speaker has said explicitly. Dascal pointed out that it is the hearer's responsibility to understand, as the hearer should make a concerted effort to infer the implicit meaning from the utterance through the use of clues provided by the context. As long as jokes depend heavily on hints, the interpretation is likewise dependent on hints. A key point with jokes is that there are a number of possible interpretations, according to the exploitation of its

indirectness to convey a specific meaning. Dascal's description of the indirectness of jokes corresponds with what Searle proposes about the fact that the interpretation of indirect speech acts is a matter of probability. The interpretation of indirect speech acts depends on the listener rather than the teller of the joke. The listener should use pragmatic devices allowing for indirectness. The joke teller's task is to take into consideration the hearers' background knowledge, and pragmatic competence.

Until now the investigation of the pragmatic functions of political humor has received scant academic attention. Hassan, (2013) investigated the pragmatic functions of humor used by demonstrators during the 2011 revolution against Mubarak in Egypt, as well as by American protestors in the Occupy Wall Street movement. Hassan wanted to explore how and why humor is used in political movements as a strategy of nonviolent resistance against political authority. Hassan combined theories of humor with the theory of speech acts. He analyzed humor during the protests using Searle's framework of indirect speech acts. Hassan explained that the Searle's framework for interpreting indirect speech acts, allows the possibility of interpreting political humor during the Egyptian revolution in 2011 as a declarative speech act of resistance. As Searle (1975) specifies, there is no direct relationship between the form and the function of an indirect speech act, as the function is performed by means of a form to which it does not necessarily correspond. The results of Hassan's study show that humor functions as a speech act of resistance. Hassan argued that demonstrators employed humor as an indirect tool to perform declarative speech acts of resistance to the political regime.

Grundlingh (2018) argued that internet memes , are speech acts, as they are used successfully among internet users for the purpose of communication. According to Milner (2012), internet memes are "amateur media artifacts, extensively remixed and recirculated by different participants on social media networks" (p.3). Grundlingh, (2018) stated that the main functions of internet memes are humor and sarcasm, and these functions can be classified under the

different categories of speech acts because internet users use memes for communicative purposes, such as asking questions, expressing opinions, and refusing.

Aarons and Mierowsky (2017) in their study *How To Do Things with Jokes* examined the speech acts in standup comedy. They were concerned with the social effect that the comedian has on the audience, considering the speech acts used by some standup comedians in this study. The researchers noted that comedians in standup comedy have underlying motives beyond those in their standup routines, which may be to embarrass, enjoin, criticize, tease, disgust, incite or perhaps simply to amuse the audience. The analysis showed that standup comedians used the speech acts of reassurance, indirect threatening, insulting, accusation, humiliating, reducing, maligning, deriding and stereotyping, and so on.

To sum up, most of the studies represented in the literature review used social or psychological approaches to explore the functions of political humor outside or inside Egypt either on FB or in different contexts. I argue that in all cases humor functioned as a speech acts even though it has been investigated through frameworks other than pragmatics and speech acts because researchers have ended up concluding that humor functions as a tool of resistance, defense, ridicule, or disagree for example.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the design of the current research, the targeted FB pages, the type of humorous posts selected for investigation, and the data collection procedures. Analysis technique, and the framework used for analysis, are also provided.

3.1. Research design

This research is a qualitative one that uses a pragmatic approach to investigate the pragmatic functions of political humor presented by Egyptian Facebook users during intense periods resulting from difficult economic or political circumstances. The research uses both the taxonomy of speech acts proposed by (Searle, 1976) along with the indirect speech acts by (Searle, 1975) to explore the indirect or primary speech acts performed in the humorous posts created and shared by Facebook users. Data analysis aims at understanding and interpreting the messages conveyed within the selected humorous posts. I argue that humorous posts addressing pressing governmental decisions and difficult situations not only aim to provide pleasure or fun, but rather carry a further hidden purpose. Humor on FB performs functions such as rejection, complaint or resistance to the core political and economic circumstances. Humorous posts from the two satirical public Facebook pages, *portō ʔora min ʔajlika ʔant* and *sōbar faʔxa*, were collected over the past year. Humorous posts addressed a number of events on both political and economic levels this year, of which two have been selected for analysis in this study. The first were the presidential elections carried out in March 2018, which were accompanied by the nomination period which stretched over the three months prior to elections. The second type of posts investigated are those which address the increasing price of daily living, including rises in the prices of fuel, metro tickets, potatoes, and posts targeting prices in general.

3.2. Selection criteria

The main focus of the present study is to investigate the pragmatic functions of political humor employed by FB users, thus, the two pages, *portō ʔora min ʔajlika ʔant* and *sōbar faʔxa*, were selected due to several criteria. These criteria include the fact that both are satirical pages, claiming to represent the everyday pain and suffering caused by the government's policies and decisions in a humorous and sarcastic way. The targeted pages thus provide a large inventory of humorous posts by collecting and publishing statuses employing political humor created by individual users. Both pages are public and accessible to every single member of the FB community, so everyone can make posts, shares, likes and comments, and both are Arabic language pages, predominately broadcasting material written in colloquial Egyptian, aside from a very few who borrow from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Posts on both pages are not only limited to the pages' admins, they also contain posts by others, so posts do not represent only one view, but rather a broad spectrum of opinions and views. All followers are allowed to contribute. Both pages claim to be neutral with no bias to any political party or view. Finally, Both pages have a huge community following, with 2.5 million users following the page *portō ʔora min ʔajlika ʔant*, while one million follow *sōbar faʔxa*.

The two pages targeted in this study include a large number of posts. Posts were selected in which humor due to cognitive incongruity is clearly presented. Posts containing irony and hyperbole, emotions, written symbols or laughter are also considered to be humorous (Sherman & Švelch, 2015). Another of the selection criteria was that posts needed to address the most salient political events. During the year 2018 the predominant political events were the presidential elections and price increases. Both were significant and formed a hot topic of public conversation. The two pages selected contain many humorous posts. In its "About" section, the pages describe themselves as ridiculing bad politics. Many humorous posts addressing topics varying from the world cup to issues concerning family, love and

relationships were found though. These posts were excluded and data collection was limited only to political posts, and to textual posts presented in sentences rather than those focussing on images.

As the two pages target citizens' sufferings and struggles due the difficult political and living circumstances, all posts are anti-government. Therefore, no posts were found which mock citizens who are against government or those who are anti-Sisi.

3.3. Data collection procedures

As a member of FB community the researcher was already following the two selected pages. The two pages are considered a bank of humorous posts as they collect posts created and published by individuals and republish them to the pages' timelines. Each post is posted in the form of an image including the text and the name and profile photo of its creators. The researcher collected images showing humorous political posts from the past year. The "save as" option was used to download photos. Political posts on both pages targeted a number of political themes, of which the presidential elections and price increases were the dominant ones. After excluding posts focusing on minor topics such as the Arab league, speeches by individual ministers, and politicians' linguistic mistakes, 59 posts were chosen for investigation, due to their strong focus on the two dominant political topics, elections and prices. Elections were targeted by 25 posts, while 34 posts targeted prices.

To preserve the anonymity of the posts' creators, their names and photos have been concealed using the paint editor tool. In order to ensure that the pragmatics of the data are comprehensible regardless of prior knowledge of the specific political incidents, the context and environment in which people used humor to react and express themselves are described to aid understanding of the situation from which the humor emerged. This will ensure that common ground between the researcher and the readers of this research is established.

3.4. Data Analysis techniques

The main focus of analysis is to investigate the pragmatic functions performed by political humor on FB by examining 59 humorous posts which targeted the presidential elections and price increases.

In order to derive the pragmatic functions of humorous posts in the study, pragmatic analysis is applied. The pragmatic analysis adopts the indirect speech acts framework proposed by Searle, (1975) along with Searle, (1976) taxonomy of speech acts.

Anagondahalli & Khamis, (2014) who conducted an analysis of political jokes during both Mubarak's rule and during the 2011 Egyptian revolution, stated that "there can be multiple interpretations of the same text, and these interpretations may not be the same as the one intended by the creator of that text" (McKee, 2006) as cited in (Anagondahalli & Khamis 2014, p.5). In addition, it is important to emphasize that in the case of indirect speech acts "conclusion is probabilistic" (Searle, 1975, p. 64). Hence the interpretation of indirect utterances could have more than one possible interpretation. In his work on the interpretation of jokes, Dascal (1985) further stated that "the listener's task, in these cases, is to work out by himself the implicit meaning" (p. 96).

Using the work of Searle in addition to what Dascal proposed as a starting point, the researcher relied on the literal meaning, as well as the shared knowledge and factual background with humor creators to first identify the sentence type, in order to establish the illocutionary force of sentences used in the humorous posts. A sentence can be declarative if it makes a statement, interrogative if it asks a question, or imperative if it gives orders and commands. Next, the secondary(literal or direct) speech act by which the literal meaning is conveyed is detected and analyzed. Thirdly, depending on the secondary speech acts and the shared background, the

implied meaning is inferred in order to explore the pragmatic functions which are performed in the primary, (non-literal) speech acts.

3.5. Delimitations

Although this research investigates the political humor practiced by FB users over the past year, many humorous posts have been excluded. Many humorous posts which ridicule and criticize politics have taken the form of memes. Internet memes are created by integrating the uses and functions of different media and modes. Photos, often showing characters from famous movies are often combined with a textual input, and it is the mixture of both which gives a particular message. In order to interpret and analyse memes a multimodal approach must be adopted (Grundlingh, 2018). The design of the present research is limited to analysing speech acts in humorous posts only presented only in texts which are written by FB members. Therefore, multimodal inputs are not included due to their need for different techniques and approaches of analysis. I have also excluded posts targeting topics of niche interest to the majority of Egyptians, or posts targeting topics which do not affect people's daily lives.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

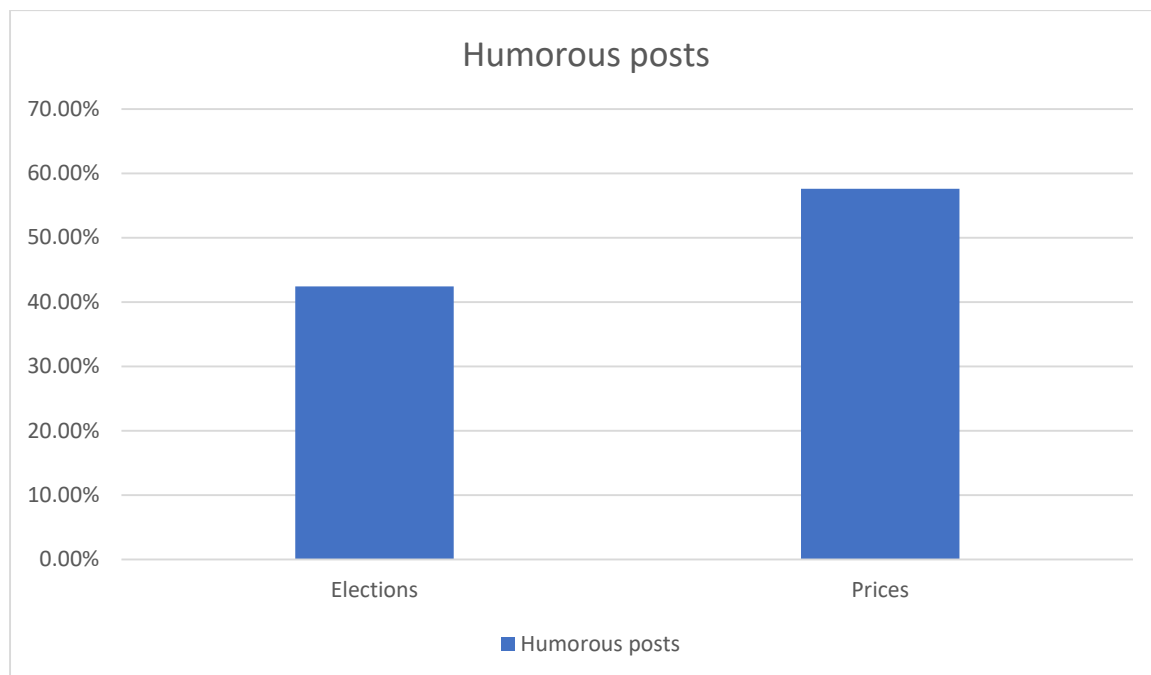
This chapter analyzes and discusses the pragmatic functions of the political humor employed by Egyptian FB users within the speech act theory using the frameworks of the indirect speech acts proposed by (Searle, 1975) along with Searle's taxonomy of speech acts. The pragmatic functions are interpreted based on the primary illocutionary acts performed in the humorous posts. The secondary speech acts by which primary acts are performed are also explored.

Regarding data analysis I support (Searle, 1975) who stated that in the case of indirect speech acts "conclusion is probabilistic" (p. 64). In addition to what Searle proposed, (Dascal, 1985) in his work on interpretation of jokes, stated that "the listener's task, in these cases, is to work out by himself the implicit meaning" (p. 96). Taking the work of Searle and Dascal as a point of departure, the researcher relied on her own interpretations while analysing the present data.

The data collected covers two topics: the presidential elections which were held in 2018 and the current crisis of increasing prices, which has seen substantial hikes in fuel prices, metro tickets, the potato crisis, and posts about prices more generally.

The focus of this study is to investigate the pragmatic functions performed in primary speech acts, of humor. Secondary illocutionary acts are explored only for the purpose of showing how primary illocutionary acts could be reached, and consequently how we can reach a conclusion as to how we should interpret the pragmatic functions of the humorous posts. Therefore, no statistics or elaboration on secondary illocutionary acts are given in this study.

Figure 1 The two main topics targeted in humorous posts



According to the selection criteria introduced in the previous chapter, 59 humorous posts have been chosen to provide a basis for the examination of the pragmatic functions performed by the use of humor within a political context. Of the selected posts, twenty-five targeted the presidential elections (42.4%), while thirty-four targeted increasing prices (57.6%), addressing subtopics in this field including increasingly expensive metro tickets, fuel, potato crisis, clothes, and posts about the high costs of living.

In the case of the presidential elections, the pragmatic functions performed by the primary illocutionary acts to express humor mainly reflect Searle's categories of *representatives* and *expressives*. Within the *representatives* category of Searle's speech acts, the main pragmatic function performed is that of making assertions. The group of *representatives* speech acts represent the speaker's belief about something which could be evaluated as true or false. Speakers use them to tell or inform people how things are, and to commit the speakers to the truth of the propositional content.

As for the posts targeting prices, the dominant pragmatic function performed is that of complaining, which comes from the *representatives* category of Searle's speech acts. The humorous posts indicate complaint regarding the level of increase in the prices and the difficult living circumstances caused by the increase.

In the case of the elections, the dominant speech act is that of assertion because post creators wish to assert facts which are in opposition to what has been claimed by authorities. The state claims that the procedures of representative democracy are present and that there is a fair and credible electoral process where everyone is allowed to run for presidency. In contrast, the humorous posts on FB assert the opposite implying the absence of real democracy, the danger of running for elections, the non-real electoral process. Thus it can be assumed that the elections' posts work in a vertical line from the lower to higher as state, leaders, and source of power were directly mentioned in posts. In other words, citizens criticize sources of power by asserting that the state is restricting democracy. By contrast, in posts regarding prices, the increase is a fact that no one can deny so there is no need to assert it. It can be assumed that posts discussing prices work in a horizontal line, where post creators share their sufferings with others without any direct mention of the state or leaders except for 3 posts out of the 34 which target prices. Therefore, the dominant pragmatic function performed in posts about prices is one of complaint about the high cost of living and continuous price increases.

To answer the research questions of the present study, the following sections introduce the chosen humorous posts so as to explore what people exactly say to express what they actually believe regarding the two tackled topics; mainly, the presidential elections and the prices increase.

4.1. Topic 1) the presidential elections in 2018

Since context is an important factor in helping the hearer to interpret the meaning, the researcher found it was important to provide the reader with a brief background of the political context. The presidential elections were held in Egypt between March 26-28, 2018. A number of presidential hopefuls announced their intention to run for the elections, but the candidates who actually participated in the elections were only two. Opposition and international newspapers pointed out that some of the candidates running against Sisi (the current Egyptian president) were deliberately excluded from the presidential race.

Figure 2 Sub themes of humor targeting elections

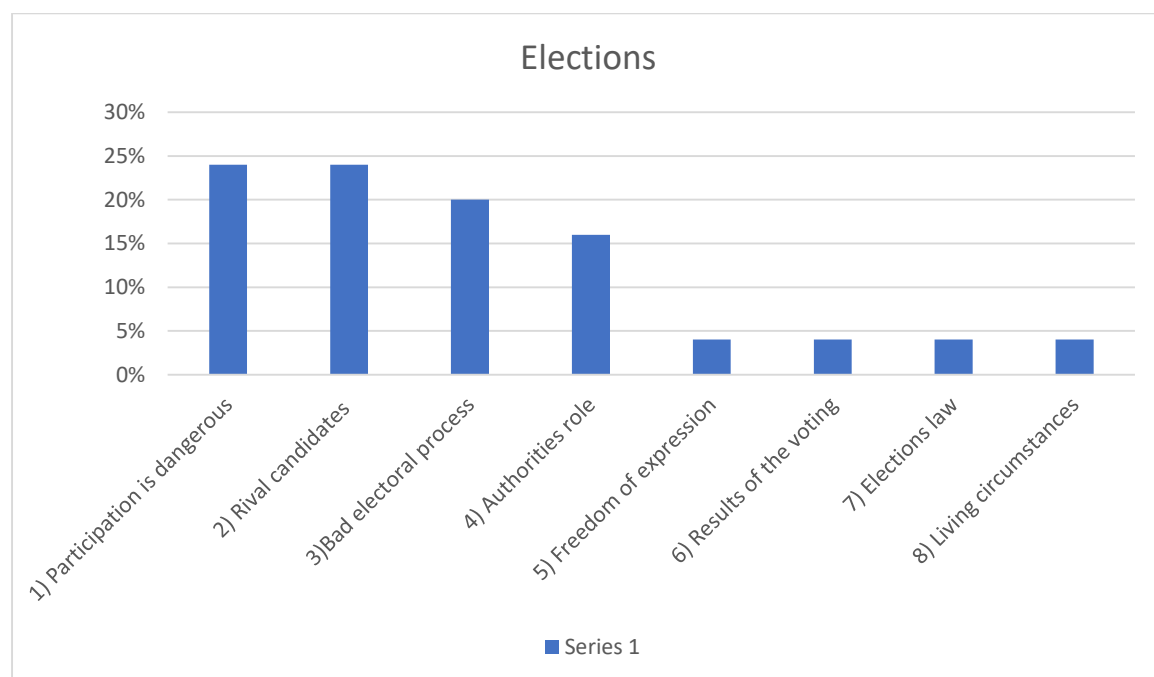


Figure 2 above shows the distribution of humorous posts discussing the elections among eight sub themes. The researcher categorized the humorous posts written during the elections based on the central idea targeted by either one or group of posts in each sub theme. Sub theme (1) includes 6 posts which assert that running for elections is dangerous so anyone intending to run for elections will have an uncertain fate. Sub theme (2) includes 6 posts which attack the rival candidates, asserting that rival candidates are not true candidates and have been hired in order

to legitimize a farcical election process. Sub themes (1) and (2) have the highest number of posts (24 %) each. Posts in sub theme (3) represent 20% of elections posts, they criticize bad electoral process and hint that the current president Sisi is the only candidate who is allowed to run for elections safely and will win the elections anyway. Sub theme (4) has 4 posts criticizing the state authorities' role in the electoral process by indicating that state authorities support lack of democracy (16%). Sub theme (5) has only one post targeting freedom of expression (4%). It hints that freedom of expression is restricted in Egypt as citizens are not allowed to articulate their opinions. Sub theme (6) has one post (4%) which focuses on the results of the voting by indicating that the majority of Egyptians boycott the elections. Sub theme (7) includes one post (4%) which targets the election law. It indicates that the election law will be adjusted for the sake of president Sisi to allow him stay for more than two terms. Finally, sub theme (8) also includes one post (4%) targeting the difficult circumstances in the current regime.

Table 1 below presents the number of posts in each of the above-mentioned sub themes, in comparison to the sentence types or illocutionary force by which the speech acts are performed in the sentences, the secondary (literal) type of speech acts that the sentence entails, then the pragmatic functions performed in the primary (non-literal meaning) of the speech acts.

No. of posts	Sentence type Or Sentence illocutionary force	Secondary (direct/literal meaning) speech acts used to perform the primary acts	Pragmatic Functions Performed in Primary (indirect/non- literal) speech acts
Sub theme (1) Participation is dangerous			
6	Declarative	Representatives Describe (1 post) Inform (1 post)	Representatives Assert

	Imperative	Directives Indirect command (1 post) Suggest (1 post) Advice (1 post)	Expressives Protest
	Declarative	Declaratives Declare (1 post)	
Sub theme (2) Rival candidates			
6	Declarative	Representatives State (3 posts) Compare (1 post)	Representative Assert
	Interrogative	Directives Ask (1 posts)	Expressives Protest
		Declaratives Announce (1post)	
Sub theme (3) Bad electoral process			
5	Declarative	Representatives State (3 posts) Report (1 post)	Representatives Assert Expressives Protest
5	Declarative	Representatives State (3 posts) Report (1 post)	Representatives Assert Expressives Protest
	Interrogative	Directives Ask (1post)	
Sub theme (4) Authorities role			
4	Imperative	Directives Command (1 post) Suggest (1 post)	Representatives Assert Expressives Protest
	Declarative	Declaratives Declare (1 post) Announce (1 post)	
Sub theme (5) Freedom of expression			
1	Imperative	Directives Request, give order (1 post)	Representatives Assert Expressives Protest
	Interrogative	Ask (the same post)	

Sub theme (6) Results of the voting			
1	Declarative	Declaratives Declare (1 post)	Representatives Assert Expressives Protest
Sub theme (7) Elections law			
1	Declarative	Representatives State (1post)	Representatives Predict Expressives Protest
Sub theme (8) Living circumstances			
1	Representatives Complain Expressives Protest	Directive Advice (1 post)	Representatives Complain Expressives Protest

Table 1 *Distribution of the Humorous Posts in the Light of Searle's Speech Act Theory*

(The Presidential Elections)

As previously mentioned, posts on the topic of the elections generally perform two dominant pragmatic functions: representatives which assert that there is no real democracy and expressives, which protest against lack of democracy. Upon closer analysis of each of the 8 sub themes the researcher also noted that the emergence of more pragmatic functions are performed within each of the eight sub themes shown in table 1. The categorization is determined according to the central idea targeted or criticised by the humourous posts in each category as well as the indirect speech acts performed by the humor in each category. The eight sub themes revealed the occurrence of the following pragmatic functions:

4.1.1. Sub theme (1) Participating is dangerous

Humor in this sub theme targets the danger of running for the elections. The pragmatic functions of the posts in this sub theme are performed in representative primary illocutionary

acts (of assertion) and in expressive primary illocutionary acts (of protest). Posts in this sub theme first assert that running for elections is very dangerous and could lead to an uncertain fate. By their assertion of the danger of running for elections, it can be concluded that an embedded protest against the suppression of rival candidates is performed. The primary speech acts of protest and assertion performed in sub theme 1 are carried out through the posts' secondary speech acts, which include representatives (inform, give example), directives (suggest, advice, indirect command), and declaratives (declare).

As an illustration of the idea targeted in this sub theme, the following examples are introduced:

Example (1)

كل واحد عنده جار مناكف ويريد أن يتخلص منه يرشحه للرئاسة.

/koll wāhid ʕando gār monākif wa yurīd ʔan yataxallaṣ minh yuraʃfīḥuhu lir-riʔāsa/

Whoever has an annoying neighbor and wants to get rid of him should nominate him, for the Presidency.

While the illocutionary force or the sentence type is an imperative, the secondary (literal meaning) speech act is in the directive category: it is an indirect command telling the receiver how to get rid of a troublesome neighbour. The writer of the post directs their words to anyone struggling with annoying neighbours, telling them that in order to get rid of their neighbours for ever they should nominate them as a candidate for the presidential elections. Since the implication is that nominating someone for the presidential election is tantamount to ensuring that this person will disappear, the pragmatic function performed in the primary (non-literal) speech act is a representative one of assertion. Such an assertion might also be interpreted as an expression of an embedded protest. The post asserts that running as a presidential candidate is dangerous, and that any hopeful candidates will disappear and will be sent away from their home and neighbours. The post creator does this by asserting that nominating an annoying

person for presidency is a good way of ensuring that they disappear. Asserting that such a danger is present in what should be an exercise of democracy can also be interpreted as a protest against the suppression, and the lack of a fair and open electoral process.

Thus, it could be assumed that the assertion of danger performed in this post might also be seen to perform the function of an indirect protest against suppression.

Example (2), also functions as a protest against the political process, by way of asserting that participating in the presidential race is dangerous.

إلى كل من يراوده حلم الترشح لرئاسة الجمهورية اتغطى كويس وانت نايم بلاش تحرق قلب اهلك عليك.

/ʔila kul man yurāwidhu ħulm ʔat-taraʃuħ li riʔāsīt ʔal-jumhūriyya ʔitgāʔa kowayys wenta nāym
we balāf teħraʔ ʔalb ʔahlak ʕalīk/

To whoever dreams of becoming President, keep it for your dreams and don't dare to break your family's heart.

Just as in example one, the illocutionary force of the sentence is imperative. The literal meaning, or secondary (literal meaning) speech act is a directive one, in the form of advice. The post writer advises that anyone who dreams, or has the ambition of running for the presidency of Egypt should avoid such a destructive dream, should cover up the dream well and continue sleeping. If they don't do this the post writer says they will cause their families to feel great sorrow or sadness about them. While on the surface this looks like a piece of advice, the pragmatic functions performed in the primary (non-literal) speech acts are again a representative assertion, which again can be seen to function as an embedded protest, in the expressives category. This post too asserts the inherent danger of running for elections. The dream of becoming president will inevitably turn into a nightmare, the post-writer asserts, as a terrible fate awaits those who wish to run for president which will break their family's heart as they grieve for them. The post-writer advises against engaging in such a dangerous activity.

The writer also asserts that the dream of presidency will never come true. By asserting the danger of running for elections, it can be concluded that an embedded protest against suppression in the electoral process occurs in the post.

While Example (3) can also ultimately be interpreted as an assertion of the danger of running for elections, the secondary speech acts are a little different.

- انتي تخنتي

- ألو رئاسة .. في واحد بيقولي انه هيرشح نفسه

/ʔinti tixinti. ʔalo riyāsa... fih wāhid beyʔolli ʔinnuh hayraʃʃaḥ nafsoh/

- You gained some weight.

- Hello, president's headquarters! Someone here wants to run for president!

This time the sentence type, or illocutionary force, is declarative. The secondary (literal meaning) speech act is: (inform), falls into the category of representative speech acts, as it informs. After the first speaker directs an offensive comment to the second speaker about her weight, the second speaker informs the authorities that someone intends to run for elections as a vindictive act of revenge. The pragmatic functions of the primary (non-literal) speech act are a representative assertion, which again can be seen to function as a protest, in the expressives category. The post once again asserts that running for elections is dangerous. By representing nominating someone for the presidency as an act of revenge to make a person pay for an insulting comment about weight, the post asserts a relationship between running for presidency and danger. Additionally, by implying the danger of running for election, the post highlights the absence of democracy and so protests against suppression.

Example (4) is the final example from posts which we may ultimately interpret as asserting the danger of running for elections

بتجيلي أفكار انتحارية يا دكتور زي إني انزل الانتخابات مثلا

/betgīli ʔafkār ʔintehāriyya ya doctor zayy ʔinni ʔanzil ʔil-ʔintexabāt masalan/

Oh doctor! I'm having suicidal thoughts, like running for president.

The sentence type or the illocutionary force of the sentence is declarative. The secondary speech act is representative, as its literal meaning is one of giving an example. A patient gives examples to his doctor about frequent suicidal thoughts that cross his/her mind such as, running for presidential elections. The pragmatic functions performed in the primary (non-literal) speech acts are those of a representative assertion as well as the expression of protest. Since the post asserts that running for the elections is an example of a suicidal thought, it again implies that death is the logical outcome of running for the presidency. Hence, by asserting that running for the election represents danger, the post indicates the absence of democracy and consequently protests against suppression.

4.1.2. Sub theme (2) Rival candidates

Humor in this sub theme revolves around the topic of the rival candidates. The pragmatic functions of posts in this sub theme are performed through representative assertive primary speech acts and expressive speech acts of protest. Posts in this sub theme first assert that the rival candidate is not a real candidate, and consequently that the electoral process is not a true process. Mousa Mustafa Mousa has been targeted directly or indirectly to hint at the fact that he was far from being or acting as a real competitor to Sisi. Second, the assertion performed in the posts in this sub theme that the rival candidate is only puppet to legitimize the electoral process makes it possible to conclude that protest against the electoral process is embedded in the posts. The primary speech acts in this sub theme are performed through secondary speech acts which vary from directives (ask), representatives (state, compare), and declaratives (announce).

Following are examples to illustrate the central idea targeted in this sub theme:

Example (1)

1- هو المرشح موسى مصطفى موسى عنده خبر ان الانتخابات انهاردة و عرف لجنته ولا لسة؟

/howwa ʔil-moraʃʃaḥ mōsa moʃtafa mōsa ʕando xabar ʔin ʔil-lintexabāt ʔinnaharda we ʕerif lagnetoh walla lessa/

Does the candidate, Mousa Mostafa Mousa, know that the elections are today? And, does he know his polling station yet or not?

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is interrogative. The secondary (literal meaning is that of a directive speech act of asking. The post creator asks whether the presidential candidate Mousa Mustafa Mousa is aware of the basic facts of the time and place at which the elections will take place. This is only the secondary meaning however, as the pragmatic function of the post is performed in a non-literal assertive speech act, in the representatives category. The assertion is also an act of protest in the expressives category. The post asserts that the rival candidate is not a real candidate/competitor in the presidential race, and the electoral process is not a real process as only one candidate is true. Although Mousa Mustafa Mousa is technically running as a candidate, he is portrayed as being unaware even of the time and place of the elections. It is implied that his name is merely part of an official procedure seeking to legitimize the elections, because he is not a true competitor. By highlighting the absence of a real second candidate for presidency, the post highlights the absence of democracy in the electoral process. Thus it acts as a protest against an election which it asserts to be rigged.

Example (2) acts in a similar way to protest the illegitimacy of elections due to the lack of serious opposition represented by Sisi's rival in the elections.

اللجنة العليا الوطنية للانتخابات تغلق باب الترشح وتعلن تقدم اثنين مرشحين بأوراقهم هم:

1- عبد الفتاح السيسي

2- واحد ثاني مع عبد الفتاح السيسي

/ʔal-lajna ʔal-ʕulyā ʔal-waṭanyya lil-ʔintixabāt tuḡliq bāb at-taraʃʃuḥ wa tuʕlin taqadum
ʔiṮnayn muraʃʃaḥayn bi ʔawrāqihim hum:

1. ʕabdil fattāḥ ʔil sisi
2. wāḥid tāni maʕa ʕabdil fattāḥ ʔil sisi

The National Elections Commission has closed the door for nominations and announces the application of two presidential candidates:

- a. Abdel Fattah El Sisi
- b. Somebody else with Abdel Fattah El Sisi

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is declarative. The secondary (literal meaning) speech act is a declarative announcement. The Supreme Commission of Elections announces that the period in which nominations can be put forward has closed, after the nomination papers of two candidates have been submitted: Sisi, and somebody else with Sisi. The pragmatic functions performed in the non-literal primary speech act are those of a representative assertion, and consequently an expressive protest. When the official commission declares that Sisi competes against an anonymous person, this indicates that the rival candidate is not a real one. The post thereby asserts that the candidate running for elections against Sisi is insignificant, and thus does not act as a real rival candidate. The post refers to the rival candidate anonymously to demonstrate the extent to which he is an unknown and insignificant person, and consequently to demonstrate that his nomination is merely a procedural matter to make the electoral process look like a real competition. Thus, it can be concluded that protest against the electoral process is also performed. By highlighting the absence of a real second candidate for presidency, the post highlights the absence of democracy in the electoral process. Thus, it acts as a protest against the mismanagement of the electoral process.

4.1.3 Sub theme (3) Bad electoral process

The humor in this sub theme revolves around the idea that Sisi is the only presidential candidate, and that voters have no choice but to elect Sisi for a second term. The pragmatic functions of posts in this category are performed in representative primary speech acts: representatives (assert), and expressives (protest). Sisi is pictured as the only candidate taking part in the electoral process, hence implying that he will inevitably win the elections and become the president anyway. This is despite the fact that in theory a fair and transparent electoral process involving competition with another candidate should be taking place. By highlighting that Sisi is the only candidate who really stands a chance of winning, a protest against the electoral process is embedded in the posts which deal with this idea. The primary speech acts performed in sub theme 3 are carried out by the secondary speech acts: representatives (state, report) and directives: (ask). The below examples from this subtheme are analysed to demonstrate the primary speech act of protest.

Example (1)

المرشحين للرئاسة:

1- السيسي

2- عبد الفتاح السيسي

3- الرئيس الحالي عبد الفتاح السيسي

/ʔal-muraʃʃahīn lil-riʔāsa:

1. ʔil sisi

2. ʕabdil fattāḥ ʔil sisi

3. ʔar-raʔis ʔal-ḥālī ʕabdil fattāḥ ʔil sisi

The presidential candidates are:

a. El Sisi

b. Abdel Fattah El Sisi

c. The current president, Abdel Fattah El Sisi

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is declarative. The secondary (literal meaning) speech act is: report, in the representative, as the post is reporting information: the names of the presidential candidates. The pragmatic functions which are performed in the primary (non-literal) are representative speech acts of assertion, which ultimately amount to a protest, in the expressives category. The post asserts that the process of the presidential elections is a one-man show. The post reports the names of three presidential candidates, yet all three are different ways of naming the same candidate, Sisi. The post functions as an assertion that Sisi is competing against himself. In other words, Sisi is the only candidate allowed to run for elections even though there is another candidate running against him. Consequently, Sisi will win the elections and will be the president regardless of the electoral process. By highlighting that Sisi is the only real candidate and that he will thus inevitably win the election, a protest against the absence of a true electoral process as should be present in any democratic system is embedded in the above post.

Example (2) likewise deals with the fact that Sisi was the only candidate who had a chance of winning the elections.

فتحوا باب الترشح للرئاسة و السيسي دخل وقفلوه بسرعة عشان البرد

/fataho bāb it-taraʃʃoh lil-riʔāsa we Sisi daxal we ʔafalo ʕalīh ʕaʕān ʔil-bard/

The door of the presidential elections opened for nominees, but once El Sisi entered through that door (applied), they closed it; most probably they are concerned about keeping any doors open in such cold weather.

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is declarative. The secondary (literal meaning) speech act is. The post states that the door for applications for candidacy in the presidential

was opened momentarily, then closed immediately after Sisi's entry in order to keep out the cold. The pragmatic functions which performed by the primary (non-literal) speech acts are that of a representative assertion, which also entails the expressive category of a protest. The post asserts that nominations for presidential candidacy were limited only to Sisi, while nobody else has the chance to run for the election. The writer is mocking the electoral process to hint that democratic elections process has been violated, since the door for candidacy was only open to Sisi, and was closed immediately after to prevent anyone else from running for the elections. Thus, asserting the exclusiveness of running for elections to Sisi entails an embedded protest against the absence of the true electoral process that should be present in any democratic system.

4.1.4. Sub theme (4) Authorities' role

Humor in this sub theme targets state authorities. The pragmatic functions of the posts in this sub theme are performed in representative primary speech acts (assert), and expressive primary speech acts (protest). Posts in this sub theme first assert that state authorities interfere to support a corrupt electoral process. The consequence of such an assertion makes a clear protest against the authorities' interference in political life. The primary speech acts performed in sub theme 4 are performed through representative secondary speech acts (command, suggest), and declaratives speech acts, (announce, declare). The following examples of posts are analysed to demonstrate this fact.

Example (1)

وزارة الأوقاف: خطبة موحدة غدا الجمعة عن فضل عدم الترشح للانتخابات في الإسلام

/wizārit ʔal-ʔawqāf: xuṭba muwaḥḥada ġadan ʔal-jumʕa ʕan faḍl ʕadam ʔat-taraʕuḥ lil-ʔintixabāt fi il-ʔislām/

Ministry of Endowments: Tomorrow, a unified Friday sermon is to be delivered on the virtue of not running for president in Islam.

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is declarative. The literal secondary speech act is an announcement, which is in the declaratives category. The Ministry of Religious Endowments announces that a unified Friday sermon on the virtue of avoiding running for elections in Islam will be delivered in all mosques. The pragmatic functions which are performed through the primary (non-literal) speech acts are those of an assertion in the representatives category, which amounts to a protest, in the expressives category. With regards to the primary (non-literal) meaning, the post makes a fictitious assertion that the Ministry of Endowments, the religious institution which is responsible for religious affairs, uses its power to discourage people from putting themselves forward for the elections. Thus increasing/exaggerating the extent to which self-nomination in presidential elections is prohibited, portraying it as taboo to the point of being religiously inappropriate. The post satirizes the idea that the government is interfering to discourage nomination in presidential elections by humorously alleging that the Ministry of Endowments has role in using the persuasive power of religious speech to shift people's attitudes towards the elections. By convincing people to stay away from the presidential competition, the ministry can ensure there will be only one candidate who can run for elections and that this candidate will consequently win. Thus, highlighting the government's role in discouraging nomination makes a clear protest against state authorities' interference to subvert democracy.

Example (2)

إحالة أوراق المتخلفين عن التصويت في الانتخابات الرئاسية لفضيلة المفتي

/ʔihālat ʔawrāq ʔal-mutaxallifīn ʕan ʔat-taṣwīt fil-ʔintixabāt ʔar-riʔāsyya li faḍīlat ʔal-muftī/

Death sentence for all abstainers in presidential elections.

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is declarative. The secondary (literal meaning) speech act is a declaration, which is in the declaratives category. The post performs a declaration that the death penalty will be enforced for all citizens abstaining from participating in the elections. The pragmatic function performed in the primary (non-literal) speech act is that of an assertion, in the representatives category. Such an assertion leads to an embedded protest, in the expressives category. Like the previous post, this post mocks the interference of the government in the elections, this time by mocking its desperate efforts to encourage people to go out and vote. It is of course not true that the death penalty was meted out to those abstaining from the elections. However, it functions as an exaggeration of extreme measures taken by the government to make it seem as though there was a high level of participation in the elections. Hence, a protest against the authorities' interference is also performed in the above post.

4.1.5. Sub theme (5) Freedom of expression

Humor in posts categorized in this sub theme targeted freedom of expression. The pragmatic functions of the posts in this sub theme were performed in representative primary speech acts which asserted that freedom of expression is restricted, while the assertion can be considered to make a protest against suppression in the expressives category.

The primary speech acts are performed through secondary speech acts including directives (request, ask, and give order). The following example demonstrates this idea:

- محتاجين صوتك يوم 26 و 27 و 28

= طب ويوم 29 يا فندم؟

- لا من يوم 29 و رايح ماسمعش صوت أهلك خالص

mihtagīn šōtak yōm 26 we 27 we 28...ṭabb we yōm 29 ya fandim?... la? min yōm 29 we rāyeh
masmaʕf šōt ʔahlak xālīṣ/

- Your vote is needed on the 26th, 27th and 28th.
- Well, what about the 29th, sir?
- Starting from that date, I want you to shut your mouth for good.

In this post, the sentences types or illocutionary forces are declarative, interrogative, and then imperative respectively. The secondary (literal) speech acts are: (ask, and an indirect command) in the directives category. the post takes the form of a dialogue between a person in power and a citizen, in which the guy in a position of authority declares that the citizen's vote is needed on the days 26th-28th. The citizen then asks, "and what about the 29th" as he wonders if his opinion continues to be important the day after the elections. The aggressive and offensive answer to the citizen's question indicates that he has to shut his mouth as of the 29th, as soon as the elections are over. The pragmatic functions performed in the primary (non-literal) speech acts are representative, taking the form of an assertion and a threat, while the assertion implies a protest, in the expressives category. The post performs a threat that asserts that freedom of expression is restricted. A person in power first urges a citizen to go and vote during polling days, and then gives the same citizen a strong aggressive order to shut his mouth once the polling is done and for good. Thus, citizens are not encouraged to articulate their opinions or ideas, they are only allowed to participate in voting and this is the only context in which they can have voice. Otherwise, people should be silent and shut their mouths forever. By asserting that freedom of expression is restricted, it can be concluded that there is an embedded protest against suppression.

4.1.6. Sub theme (6) Results of the voting

Humor in this sub theme targets the unofficial results of the election. The pragmatic functions of the posts in this sub theme are performed in representative primary speech acts of assertion, and in expressives which protest. Posts in this sub theme first assert that the majority of people are against the electoral process because the majority boycott the elections. Consequently the

assertion of the citizens' dissatisfaction with the elections comprises a protest against the electoral process. The primary speech acts performed in sub theme 6 are performed by declarative secondary speech acts (declare) The below example clarifies the idea in this sub theme.

النتيجة من الكنترول

المركز الأول: الناس المقاطعة

المركز الثاني: عبد الفتاح السيسي

/ʔinnatiga min ʔil-contrōl:

ʔil-markaz ʔil-ʔawwal: ʔinnās ʔil-moqaṭʔa

ʔil-markaz ʔiθ-θāni: ʕabdil fattāḥ ʔil sisi

ʔil-markaz ʔiθ-θāliθ: ʔil-ʔaṣwāt ʔil-baṭla

ʔil-markaz ʔir-rābiʕ: mōsa moṣṭafa mōsa

Unofficial results directly from the control room:

First place: abstained votes

Second place: Abdel Fattah El Sisi

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is declarative. The literal meaning is a declaration, making the secondary speech act a declarative one. In a post which declares a satirical take on the results of the voting, those who abstained are ranked first, with Sisi coming in second place.

The pragmatic functions performed by the primary (non-literal) speech acts are that of asserting, which is in the representatives category, then an embedded protest, in the expressives category. By listing abstainers as ranking first in the elections and placing Sisi in second place, the post asserts that the majority of Egyptians are dissatisfied with and refuse to participate in

the electoral process by boycotting the elections. By asserting that the majority are boycotting the elections the post makes an embedded protest against the electoral process.

4.1.7. Sub theme (7) The elections law

Humor in this sub theme targets electoral law or the electoral system. The pragmatic functions of the posts in this sub theme are performed in through representative primary speech acts including prediction, which can also constitute a protest against the absence of democracy in the expressives category. Humor is used to predict that electoral law might be adjusted to allow the current president to stay in the role for more than two terms, and perhaps for an unlimited period of time. The primary speech acts performed in sub theme 7 are carried out through the secondary speech acts: the representatives (state). To demonstrate the idea above, the following example is introduced:

اللجنة العليا تعدل نظام الانتخابات لتصبح باقة تجدد للسياسي لوحدها كل اربع سنين.

/ʔal-lajna ʔal-ʕulyā tuʕadil niẓām ʔal-ʔintixabāt lituṣbiha bāqa tujaddad liwaḥdaha kol ʔarbaʕ sinīn/

The High Elections Committee amends the electoral system so that it becomes an automatically renewable El Sisi package every four years.

The sentence type or illocutionary force is declarative. The (literal meaning) speech act is: state, which falls in the representatives category. The post states that the Supreme Commission of Elections adjusted the elections system to make Sisi's term automatically renewable, just like internet and mobile offers. The pragmatic function is performed in the primary (non-literal) speech act, which is a prediction in the representatives category, and the prediction can be seen to constitute a protest in the expressives category. The post predicts that the Supreme Commission for Elections will find a way to change the elections' law in order to give Sisi the right to stay in rule without elections for unlimited periods. The writer of the post uses the trope

of automatically renewable packages, which are normally related to mobile and internet plans, to hint that the electoral system will not abide by the rule which stipulates that no one president should serve for more than two consecutive terms. In other words, the post suggests that the constitution might be adjusted to allow the president stay in power for good instead of only two terms, predicting that Sisi will serve another term after the one he secured in the 2018 elections. By highlighting the state's intention to change the constitution in favour of one person, it can be concluded that protest against the absence of democracy is also embedded in the above post.

4.1.8. Sub theme (8) Living circumstances

Humor in this sub theme targets the difficult living circumstances. The pragmatic functions of the posts in this sub theme are performed in the representative primary speech acts in the form of assertions, and the assertion can be interpreted as an expressive speech act of protest. Posts in this sub theme first assert that during Sisi's time as president, citizens have suffered from tough and pressing living circumstances. Such an assertion amounts to a protest against the current regime. The primary speech acts performed in sub theme 8 are carried out through the secondary speech acts: directives (advice). The following example demonstrates the idea above.

لو هينتخب السيسي في 2018 اتجوزيه، مستحيل تلاقى حد مهما عملتي فيه وادتيه على دماغه و دماغ اللي جابوه يفضل متمسك بيكي ويحبك كدة

/law hayntexib El Sisi fi 2018 ʔitgawwizēh... mostahīl tilāʔi ḥad mahma ʕamalti fīh we dditīh ʕala demāḡoh we demāḡ ʔilli gabōh yefḍal metmassik bekī we yhibbik kida/

If he will vote for El Sisi in 2018, go ahead and marry him. It is very rare to find someone who will hold on to you no matter how badly you treat them, just like people who would elect Sisi for a second term.

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is imperative. The secondary speech act has the literal meaning of a piece of advice, which is in the category of directives. A person advises that a woman accept as a husband any man who would vote for Sisi to remain in the presidency for second term. He must be a guy with high tolerance, the post implies, who will stick to his wife no matter how poorly she treats him.

The pragmatic functions which are performed in the primary (non-literal) speech acts are representative, in the form of an assertion, an expressive, in the form of protest. The post asserts that during Sisi's rule, Egyptians have undergone many hardships. Accordingly, anyone willing to vote for Sisi for a second term is a person who must have a super high tolerance and ability to endure the worst conditions. In other words, those who will vote for Sisi for a second term are similar to those who can endure to stay in a debilitating and exhausting husband-wife relationship. By highlighting the tough conditions during Sisi' rule, it can be concluded that the post performs protest against the current regime.

4.2. Topic 2) Prices

The FB posts targeting prices included increases in the price of metro tickets, fuel, potatoes, and general posts about prices. I will briefly illustrate the contexts of each of these.

- 1) Metro tickets: In 2018, the Ministry of Transportation announced that metro ticket prices would jump from a flat rate of 2 EGP to a variable rate of between 3,5, and 7 EGP.
- 2) Fuel prices: In June 2018 The Egyptian government removed subsidies on fuel, implementing new and higher prices.
- 3) Potato crisis: In October 2018 Egyptians were hit by the crisis of a sharp increase in the price of potatoes, which used to be cheap vegetable and a staple on the average Egyptian's food table.

- 4) Other posts targeted increased prices for clothing and for living expenses in general, which have been the result of an increase in the dollar exchange rates and an increase in the price of sources of power in general.

Figure 3 Sub themes of humor targeting prices

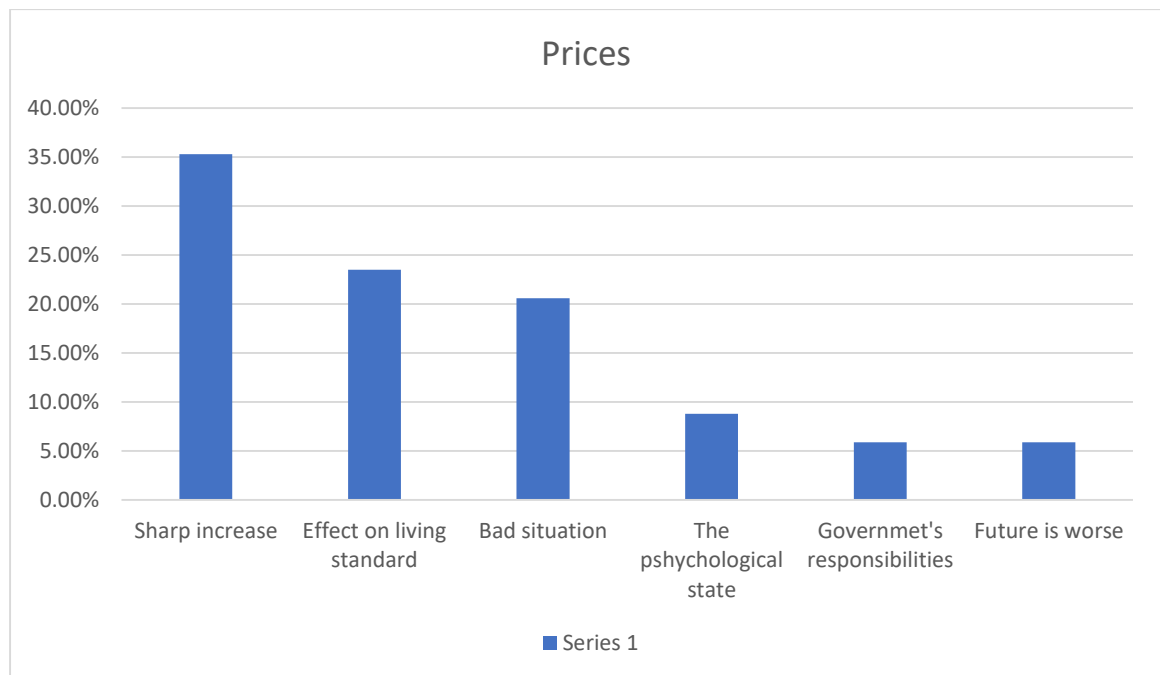


Figure 3 above shows that the humorous posts targeting prices are grouped into six sub themes. Posts is each sub theme dealt with a specific aspect of the increasing prices. The highest number of posts (12) are in sub theme 1 which describes how sharp and sudden the increases are. These represents 35.3% of the total number of posts about prices. Posts in sub theme (2) targeted the effect of increasing prices on standards of living and social life, as citizens have been required to give up some essential needs or reduce their consumption due to the increase in prices. This idea was represented in 8 posts, representing 23.5% of the posts on the topic of prices. Sub theme (3) includes 8 posts, which consist of generalized complaints about prices and the bad economic situation (20.6%). Posts in sub theme (4) consider the psychological impact on citizens of increased living expenses, an idea which occupies 3 posts, or 8.8% of all the posts in this topic. Posts in sub theme (5) targeted the government and its policy regarding prices,

5.9% of posts about prices performed a complaint about the government. Finally, humor in sub theme (6) represents 5.9% of prices' posts. The post in this category predicts that situation is only going to get worse in the future. Prices will get higher still and life will become harder for Egyptians (1 post).

Table 2 below presents the number of posts in each of the above-mentioned sub themes, sentence types or sentence illocutionary force by which the speech acts are performed, the secondary (literal meaning) speech acts, then the pragmatic functions performed in the primary (non-literal meaning) speech acts.

No. of posts	Sentence type Or Sentence illocutionary force	Secondary (direct/literal) speech acts used to perform the primary acts	Pragmatic functions Performed in Primary (indirect/non- literal) speech acts
Sub theme (1) The increase is sharp			
12	Declarative	Representatives State (6 posts)	Representatives Describe Complain
	Interrogative	Directives Ask (3 posts)	
	Imperative	Indirect command (2 posts) Advice (1 post)	
Sub theme (2) Effect living statndard			
8	Declarative	Representatives State (1 post) Expressives Apologize (1 post) Show gratitude to God (1 post)	Representative Assert Complain
	Interrogative	Directives Ask (3 posts)	
	Imperative	Request (1 post) Suggest (1 post)	

Sub theme (3) Bad situation			
7	Declarative	Representatives State (5 posts) Wonder & confirm (1 post)	Representative Complain
	Interrogative	Directives Ask (1 posts)	
Sub theme (4) The psychological state			
3	Declarative	Representatives state (3 posts)	Expressive Describe the psychological state Complain
Sub theme (5) Government's responsibilities			
2	Declarative	Expressives Thank (1 post)	Expressives Complain
		Representatives State (1 post)	
Sub theme (6) Future is worse			
2	Declarative	Representatives State (2 posts)	Representatives Predict Complain

Table 2 *Distribution of the Humorous Posts in the Light of Searle's Speech Act Theory*

(Prices Increase)

The researcher argues that posts on the topic of prices generally fall into the representatives category of Searle's speech acts theory, taking the form of a complaint about the high increase in prices, and a protest against the continuously increasing prices is performed in the expressives category. Upon closer analysis of each of the 6 sub themes the researcher also noted the emergence of more pragmatic functions. Following is a detailed description of the analysis of pragmatic functions of posts in each sub theme.

4.2.1. Sub theme (1) The sharp increase

Humor in this sub theme deals with how unaffordable things have been come due to the sudden and sharp nature of the increase in prices. The pragmatic functions of the posts in this sub theme are performed in representative primary speech acts in the form of descriptions and

complaints. Post creators want to say that the increase is sharp, very high, or unaffordable. As assigning adjectives falls under the category of description, it can be concluded that posts in this sub theme describe how sharp and high the increase is. Describing the hike in prices in this way constitutes a complaint about how sharp the increases are. The complaint is carried out in the representatives category. The primary speech acts performed in sub theme 1 are performed through secondary speech acts of stating, in the representatives category, and asking, suggesting, requesting, and advising in the directives category. To demonstrate the idea above, the following examples are given:

Example (1)

لما المترو يبقى 7 جنيه رايح و جاي وباقي المواصلات 11 جنيه تفتكروا المرتب هيكفي المواصلات ولا أطلب قرض من صندوق النقد الدولي؟

/lamma l-Metro yebʔa 7 genēh rāyih gay we bāʔi ʔil-mowaṣlāt 11 genēh teftekro ʔil-morattab haykaffi ʔil-mowaṣlāt wala ʔaṭlob qarḍ min ṣandōʔ ʔin-naqḍ ʔid-dawliʔ/

When a one way trip on the metro costs 7 EGP, with another 11 EGP for other means of transportation, do you think my salary will be enough to cover this? Or shall I apply for a loan from the International Monetary Fund?

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is interrogative. The secondary speech act has the literal meaning of asking a question, which is in the directives category. The writer of the post asks whether their salary will be enough to afford the expense of transportation (which are 7 EGP for a metro trip plus 11 EGP for other transportation), wondering whether they should apply for a loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to cover the expenses. The pragmatic functions performed in the primary (non-literal) speech acts are those of description, which then can be considered to lead a complaint, both in the representatives category. The post describes the price increase as a sharp and unaffordable increase. The IMF is an

international organization that lends to countries hit by huge crises rather than to individuals. Therefore, when the writer asks if s/he should apply for a loan from IMF, they are implying that the increase in the costs of transportation is very high to the extent that their debts will be as huge as the debts of countries going through crises. Hence, loans from regular banks are not even enough to cover their debts. The post also functions as a complaint about the price increase, as normal salaries will be no longer enough to cover transportation expenses. By highlighting the sharp increase, the post makes a complaint about the price increases.

Example (2)

البطاطس يصل سعرها إلى 14 جنيهه ويقترب من سعر الدولار ، طب أغير فلوسي لبطاطس ولا استنى شوية؟

/ ʔal-batātīs yaṣil siṣrahā ʔila 14 ginēh wa yaqtarib min siṣr ʔid-dollar, ʔab ʔaḡayyar filōsi li batātīs walla ʔastana ʔowayya/

Potatoes cost 14 L.E per kilogram; almost equal to the dollar exchange rate.

Shall I exchange my money* for potatoes or shall I wait a little bit more?

*Among higher socioeconomic classes, people commonly ask “Shall I change my money (local currency) to dollars or wait a little longer?”

The post consists of two sentence types whose illocutionary forces are first declarative, then interrogative. The secondary (literal meaning) speech acts are those of a statement, in the representatives category, and that of asking, in the directives category. The post writer first states the fact that the price of a kilogram of potatoes has increased to 14 EGP; the same amount of EGP that is equal to 1 USD. The writer then asks “Should I convert my money into potatoes or should I wait a bit more?” The primary (non-literal) speech acts perform the pragmatic functions of describing, which is tantamount to a complaint, both of which are in the representatives category. The post describes a high rate of increase in the price of potatoes and then complains about how expensive potatoes are by saying comparing the price of the basic

foodstuff to that of US currency. In other words, potato prices have jumped to become as valuable as USD after having been one of the cheapest, basic vegetables that used to be affordable for all socioeconomic classes, so the post suggests that investing money in potatoes rather than dollars is a good idea. By highlighting the sharp increase in the price of potatoes, the post performs a complaint against the increase.

Example (3)

المفروض أي حد يشتري جاكيت شتوي السنة دي يتقبض عليه بتهمة الكسب الغير مشروع

/ʔil-mafrōḍ ʔayy ḥad yeʃteri Jacket ʃetwi ʔis-sana di yetʔebiḍ ʃalēh betohmet ʔil-kasb ʔil-ğēr maʃrōʃ/

They should arrest anybody who buys a winter coat this year and charge them with illegal gains!

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is an indirect command. The secondary (literal meaning) speech act is directive in the form of a direct command. The post writer gives the indirect command that anyone who can afford buying a winter coat this year should be arrested and charged with illegal gains. The primary (non-literal) speech acts carry out the pragmatic functions however, which are to describe the increase, and complain about the increase, both of which fall into the representatives category. The post describes the sharp increase in winter clothes. The humor in the post indicates that prices of winter clothes have become so high that regular citizens can't afford them. The writer refers to the extent and scale of the increase by hinting that winter clothes are affordable for only very wealthy people, or for those who have gained their wealth through illegal activities, as it would be impossible for a normal person to find the funds for winter clothing by any honest means. All of the above indicates that there is also a complaint about

the high prices and the frustration caused by the increase.

4.2.2. Sub theme (2) prices' effect on living standard, and consumption

Humor in this sub theme targets the effect of price increases on citizens' lives and needs. The pragmatic functions of the posts in this sub theme are performed in representative primary speech acts of which there are two types: predict, then complain. Posts in this sub theme first predict that prices will affect people's lives, suggesting that people might have to give up some of their needs and lower their rate of consumption. These predictions also function as a complaint about the high increase in prices. The primary speech acts performed in sub theme 2 are performed by the secondary speech acts: representative (state), and expressives (apologize, express gratitude to God), and directives (ask, request, suggest). The following examples demonstrate this idea.

Example (1)

- عايز كام لتر بنزين يا فندم؟

- لا لتر ايه ما عندكش كانات؟

- /ʔāyiz kām litr banzīn ya fandim?/
- /laʔ litr ʔēh ma ʕandakʃ kanzāt?/
- How many liters of gasoline do you need, sir?
- Liters?! Don't you sell gasoline cans?

The sentence type or illocutionary force of the sentence is interrogative. The secondary (literal meaning) speech act is directive, as it asks. The post is presented as a conversation between a gas station worker who asks a client how many liters of gasoline they need, after which the client replies asking for gasoline cans instead of litres. The pragmatic functions which are performed in the primary (non-literal) speech acts are those a prediction, which then leads to a complaint, in the representatives category. The post thus indirectly performs a complaint about the increase and predicts how citizens' essential needs and consumption will be affected by the

increase. The dialogue in the post implies that citizens won't be able to afford the amounts of gasoline they used to buy before fuel prices rose, and that they will therefore need to lower their consumption to the least possible amount, buying a drinks can of gasoline instead of a litre. As the post predicts that people will be required to compromise their living standards, a complaint about the high prices is embedded within it.

Example (2)

نزلت أشتري حلاوة المولد زي كل سنة ولما لقيت سعرها غالي اكتشفت انها بدعة

/nezilt ʔaʃteri ḥalawit il-mōlid zayy kol sana we lamma laʔit siʕraha ġāli ʔiktaʃaft ʔinnaha
bidʕa/

I was about to buy Moulid candies* this year as usual. However, when I found how expensive their prices are this year, I suddenly realized that Moulid candies are a heresy* in Islam anyway.

* Moulid candies: nuts and sugar candies that are yearly made in some Islamic countries in celebration of the birth of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

*Some extremists' religious views suggest that buying candies on the prophet's birthday is not a legitimate practice since this is not a tradition that was carried out while the prophet was alive, and so it is a heresy.

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is declarative. The secondary (literal meaning) speech act is a statement, which is in the representatives category. Someone states that s/he went to buy the Moulid candies, then decided not to buy it after finding how expensive they were, deciding instead to believe that such candies are just a heresy. The pragmatic functions performed through the primary (non-literal) speech acts are in the representatives category and take the form of a prediction and a complaint. The post performs a complaint about the high prices, predicting that citizens will give up buying things they used to purchase before the increase. Hence, consumption and people's needs will be negatively affected. For example,

they will stop buying some goods such as the candies they are used to buying and eating every year in the occasion of the birthday of the prophet Muhammed (PBUH) due to its increased price.

4.2.3. Sub theme (3) Complain the bad situation

Humor in this sub theme targets the frustrating and pressing situation due to the increase in prices. The pragmatic functions of the posts in this sub theme are performed in representative primary speech acts in the form of complaints. Posts in this sub theme complain about the bad situation caused by inflation. The primary speech acts performed in sub theme 3 are performed through the secondary speech acts: representatives (state, wonder, confirm) and directives (ask). To demonstrate the above idea, the following example is introduced:

Example (1)

يا جماعة أنا شفت امبارح كابوس رهيب، قال ايه أنا لابس أسود ف أسود وواخد خط مترو الأنفاق من أوله لآخره

/ya gamāʕa ʔana ʃoft ʔimbāriḥ kabōs rahīb, ʔāl ʔēh ʔana lābis ʔiswid fī swid we wāxid xaṭ metro l-ʔanfāʔ min ʔawwiloh li ʔaxroh/

Oh-man! I had a terrible nightmare last night; I saw myself dressed up in black from head to toe and riding a metro line from the beginning to end.

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is declarative. The secondary (literal meaning) speech act is a statement in the representatives category. The post writer states that he had a terrible nightmare last night as he saw himself dressed all in black while taking the metro line all the way from its start to its finish. The pragmatic function which is performed in the primary (non-literal) speech acts is that of a complaint, in the representatives category. The post performs a complaint about the new metro ticket pricing system which stipulates that the longer the distance travelled the higher the price required for the ticket. Accordingly, the writer of the post considers that taking the full subway route from the first to the last station is as frightening

and terrible as a nightmare because of the high price he will have to pay. The post humorously compares paying such a high price for a metro ticket prices as something as scary and awful as a nightmare, implying an indirect complaint about the hike in ticket prices.

Example (2)

- حضرتك انت قاعد على حجري!

- أيوة قاعد على حجرك هو أنا هدفع 7 جنيه و كمان هقف؟

- /ħaḍritak ʔinta ʔāʕid ʕala ħigri?/

- /ʔaywa ʔāʕid ʕala ħigrak howwa nna hadfaʕ 7 ġinēh we kamān haʔaf?/

- Sir, you are sitting on my lap!

- Yes, I am. Do you expect me to pay 7 EGP for a metro ticket and keep standing?

The sentence type or the illocutionary force of the sentence is declarative. The secondary (literal meaning) speech acts are wonder, and confirmation in the representatives category, and asking in the directives category. The post introduces a dialogue between two metro passengers, in which the first passenger wonders saying: you sitting on my lap! Then the second one confirms that yes he is sitting on the stranger's lap, as he has paid a lot and therefore refuses to stand. The pragmatic function is performed through the primary (non-literal) speech acts and is one of complaint, in the representatives category. The post performs a complaint about the rate of new metro ticket prices in comparison to the service provided on the metro. The post indicates that the ticket price is too high.

4.2.4. Sub theme (4) The psychological state

Humor in this sub theme revolves around the citizens' psychological condition as a result of such high living expenses. The pragmatic functions of the posts in this sub theme are performed in expressive primary speech acts which provide a description of the psychological state in the

expressives category, which also functions as a complaint in the representatives category. Posts first describe the psychological state of citizens due to difficulty of their living circumstances after the sharp increase in the prices of many goods and services. Describing how bad the psychological state is amounts to complaint about the high cost of living. The primary speech acts performed in sub theme 3 are performed by the representative secondary speech acts in the form of statements. The following examples demonstrates the above.

محتاج دكتور عيون شاطر.. بقالي مدة كل ما ابص في المحفظة عيني تدمع

/miḥtāg doctōr ʕeyōn šāṭir... baʔāli modda kol ma boṣ fi l-maḥfaza ʕēni tidammaʕ/

I need to see a good ophthalmologist; every time I check my wallet, tears come to my eyes.

The sentence type or the illocutionary force of the sentence is declarative. The secondary (literal meaning) of the speech act is a statement performed in the representatives category. The post writer states that he needs to visit a good ophthalmologist as he tears up whenever he looks at his wallet.

The pragmatic functions which are performed in the primary (non-literal) speech acts are those of a description, in the expressive category, and then a complaint in the representatives category. The post indicates that citizens are so sad and frustrated by their financial situation, represented in the post by the empty wallet, that they are reduced to tears. The bad financial situation is definitely caused by the price increase and high living expenses. By highlighting the sadness caused by the financial situation, it can be concluded that the post complains about the high living expenses.

4.2.5. Sub theme (5) Government policies

Humor in this sub theme targets the government's pressing financial policies. The pragmatic function of the posts in this sub theme are performed through primary speech acts of complaint,

in the representatives category. Posts in this sub theme complain about the government's performance, and place the blame for increasing prices at the government's door. The primary speech acts in sub theme 5 are performed by expressive secondary speech in the form of thanks, and representative secondary speech acts in the form of a statement. The following example introduces the above idea:

نتوجه بالشكر لحكومتنا الرشيدة على حرية التنفس و مجانية الأكسجين

/natawaggah be ʃ-ʃokr le ĥokōmitna r-raʃīda ʕala ĥorriyyat it-tanaffos we magāniyyat il-ʔoksōjīn/

We would like to deeply thank our wise government for allowing us to breathe freely and have free access to oxygen.

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is declarative. The secondary (literal meaning) speech act is one of thanks, in the expressives category. The post proposes thanks to the government for allowing citizens to breathe without having to pay for oxygen. The pragmatic functions performed in the primary (non-literal) speech acts are those of complaint, in the representatives category. The post constitutes a complaint about the government's performance, since it constitutes to increase prices on all sides. The government is accused of having made all goods and services so expensive that citizens are not allowed to enjoy anything for free except for oxygen and breathing – things which can never be restricted or controlled. Thus, the post indicates a complaint about the fact that the government has increased prices in all other areas of life.

4.2.6. Sub theme (6) Future is worse

Humor in this sub theme targets future situation. The pragmatic function of the posts in this sub theme are performed in the following primary speech act: representatives (predict, and complain). Post, first predicts that prices will increase continuously and situation will be worse

and worse. Second, complains about continuous increase in prices. The primary speech acts in sub theme 6 are performed by the secondary speech act: representatives (state). To demonstrate the idea above, the following example is introduced:

في 2030 لما مشروع السيسي يكمل هنقعد نفتكر أيام غلاء الكهرباء و البنزين دي و نقوم نطفي الحطب و ننام
/fi 2030 lamma maʃrōʃ El Sisi yekamal hanoʃod neftekir ʔayyām ġalāʔ ʔil-kahraba we l-banzīn
di we nʔōm neṭfi il-ḥaṭab we nnām/

In 2030, when El Sisi's project will be fully carried out, we will remember these good old days when gasoline and electricity prices went high; then, we will extinguish the firewood and go to bed.

The sentence type or the illocutionary force is declarative. The secondary (literal meaning) speech act is a statement in the representatives category. The post creator states that by the year 2030, when Sisi's project is complete, Egyptians will remember the good old days when the prices of electricity and gasoline were increased, and will then put off the firewood before going to bed. The pragmatic functions performed in the primary (non-literal) speech acts are those of prediction and then of complaint in the representatives category. The post predicts that the situation in the future will be worse. Prices will continue to go up so that in 2030 no one will be able to afford fuel prices and people will return to primitive sources of energy such as firewood instead of gas and electricity. Even though current prices are very high, they are portrayed as a good alternative compared to what will happen to prices in the future. The post also performs a complaint about the non-stop increase in fuel prices.

4.3. Discussion

The results of the current study show that political humor in posts by Egyptian FB users fulfils both direct and indirect purposes. As for the direct purpose, the humorous posts provide fun and amusement by addressing the serious events in a light-hearted way. This was achieved

through the use of the secondary speech acts. Regarding the indirect purpose, humor fulfilled a number of functions. This study confirms that humor is employed as a strategy to relieve anger and tension which agrees with the relief theory proposed by (Freud, 1960). People use humor to vent their frustration, and to cope with the difficult and pressing circumstances.

A conclusion as to the additional, indirect functions of political humor investigated in this study, is arrived at in light of the analysis of the pragmatic functions performed in the primary (non-literal) speech acts according to the indirect speech acts framework proposed by Searle (1975). In his work on classifying illocutionary acts, Searle (1979) based the classification on a number of dimensions among which direction of fit is the most important. For example, in the case of representatives, Searle stated that the direction of fit is word-to-world. In other words, the speaker tries to get the words to match or describe the world as the speaker makes statements that could be (to varying degrees) either true or false, and the speaker is responsible for the truth of such statements. On the other hand, Searle explores other types of illocutionary acts, including directives, (where the speaker attempts to get the hearer to do a course of action) commissives (where the speaker commits himself to performing or not performing a future course of action), and declaratives (where the speaker brings about a change in the world with his utterance), the direction of fit is world-to-word as the speaker tries to get the world to match the words. Finally, Searle elucidates the category of expressive acts, which have no direction of fit as they represent the psychological state of the speaker.

By applying Searle's attention to the direction of fit to the findings of this study, it can be argued that political humor investigated in the study is a kind of expressive or descriptive humor where people make assertions, predictions, or express their dissatisfaction with no power to direct change, particularly given the context and subject of the humor, which asserts both a lack of democracy and an absence of the right to freedom of expression.

Upon the discussion above, it can be concluded that findings of this study confirms the findings of Hassan, (2013) when he compared Egyptian political humor to American humor. Hassan stated that in the Egyptian case, when fear dominates due to suppression and absence of democracy, humor is used as a relief strategy. He compares this with the uses of humor in the north American context, where there is no fear of the police or regime so demonstrators use humor to object to and refuse state policies. Therefore, superiority theory was the best to describe the American humor.

Furthermore, the findings of this study support those of Anagondahalli & Khamis (2014) who concluded in their investigation of humor used during the rule of Mubarak that humor was used to accept the situation instead of changing it, when compared to humor during the 2011 revolution which was aggressive, direct, and with a clear aim at change.

Moreover, humor in this study criticized and ridiculed the authorities and current regime reflecting the possibility that humor is used to feel some sense of superiority over authorities and the current regime. Humorous posts aimed a clear message from its users that they do not believe authorities. This corroborates the ideas of (Sorensen, 2008) who suggested that humor is used to undermine sources of power.

Accordingly, it can be argued that humor used by FB users has a double function: it indirectly criticizes authorities and provides a safe platform where people can express protest without being threatened or suppressed. Hence, humor protects its users from the danger of being suppressed. Therefore, these findings support those of Helmy & Frerichs (2013) who found that political humor during revolution was used as both a “sword and a shield” (p.1) a sword to attack and a shield to fend off fear.

Similar to what Baum (2003) has proposed, humor in this study might be used for the purpose of attracting those who are not interested in politics in order to shape their views in a particular

way. Since the humorous posts are shared on pages with a huge number of followers, and due to the fact that a huge number of FB users have access to such humorous interactions. Additionally, the findings support Shehata's (1992) view which suggests that Egyptians have historically employed political jokes to criticize their leaders when they were not able to use the direct tools of criticism due to an absence of democracy and the lack of freedom of expression. Finally, as concluded by Ostrower (2000), using humor did not change the difficult or pressing circumstances, it just helped its users to cope with it.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

5.1. Overview of the Study

This qualitative study aimed at investigating the pragmatic functions of the humorous political posts created and shared by Egyptian FB users. The pragmatic functions help to detect the hidden messages underlying the humor used in reaction to every day political and economic changes taking place in Egypt. Humor has a complex and indirect nature since the speaker's intended meaning is different from the literal meaning of the utterance. Accordingly, the indirect speech acts approach proposed by Searle (1975) is the pragmatic approach through which the data in the current study is analyzed, along with the taxonomy of speech acts proposed by (Searle, 1976) . The two public FB pages, /portō ṭora min ʔajlika ʔant/, and /sōbar faḵxa/ have been selected as the source of data. The two pages were specifically chosen for a number of reasons. Both pages are public and accessible to all FB users, address daily political changes in a sarcastic way, followed by large community, contain many humorous posts collected from the profiles of multiple users, both pages' are in Arabic, and both pages claim to have a neutral political attitude with no bias to a specific political agenda.

Scrolling back through the timelines of both FB pages selected for the study, the researcher observed that humorous posts shared over the past year have targeted political as well as non-political topics such as, sports, family, or relationships. As political humor is the main focus of this study, non-political posts have been excluded. The political posts targeted a number of topics of which the presidential elections in 2018, and price increases were the dominant themes. Hence, posts targeting minor issues have also been excluded and 59 posts covering elections (25 posts) and prices (34 posts) have been selected for investigation.

Overall, the analysis revealed that all the posts which targeted elections performed two main pragmatic functions which were carried out in two primary (non-literal) illocutionary acts.

These were first, an assertion that there is no real democracy, which is performed in the representatives category of Searle's speech act taxonomy (Searle, 1976). Secondly, a protest against the electoral process is performed in the expressives category of Searle's speech acts. On the other hand, all posts targeting prices performed a dominant pragmatic function of complain about the hike in prices, which were carried out in the representatives category of speech acts.

A closer reading of posts targeting both topics revealed that within each topic there are a number of central ideas around which the posts revolve. Further pragmatic functions are performed within each idea. For instance, posts on the elections criticized the electoral process, the lack of serious contest presented by the rival candidate, the current president, the state authorities, restrictions to the freedom of expression, the electoral law, and the deterioration of living conditions. Representative pragmatic functions were performed in these posts in the form of assertions that it is dangerous and perhaps fatal to run for the elections; that the rival candidate is not a real candidate; that the elections are a one-man show; that state authorities interfere to support a non-democratic electoral process, and that freedom of expression is restricted. Representative pragmatic functions were also carried out in the form of predictions that electoral law will be changed in favour of the current president, and in the form of complaint about the bad living conditions and struggles that Egyptians have gone through over the past presidential term. An expressive pragmatic function was ultimately carried out in the form of a protest against oppression, and the authorities' interference.

The pragmatic functions of humorous posts targeting elections are performed through secondary illocutionary acts. These are *Representatives* (state, inform, give example, compare); *directives* (suggest, advice, ask, command, indirect command); and *declaratives*, (announce, declare).

Meanwhile, all of the sub themes in posts about increasing prices attacked the phenomenon through performing the following pragmatic functions complaints about price increases and the pressure to which citizens have been subjected by financial policies. A closer reading revealed the occurrence of more pragmatic functions. Representative posts were in the form of; descriptions about how sudden and extreme the increases are; predictions that the prices will have a negative effect on all areas of citizens' lives; complaints about the government's policies which hold the government responsible for the increases, and predictions that the situation will get worse and prices will get higher in the future. Posts were also expressives, describing citizens' psychological state after the increase.

The pragmatic functions of humorous posts targeting prices are performed by the secondary illocutionary acts: representatives (state, wonder, confirm); expressives (thank, apologize, show gratitude to god), directives (ask, suggest, request, advice, indirect command).

To sum up, the most dominant pragmatic functions were performed in the representatives and expressives speech act categories. The representative acts are performed to state what the speaker believes to be the case or not. In the case of humorous FB posts, it can be concluded that the post creators who performed acts in the representatives category (assertion, complaint, prediction, and description) are obviously trying to make some kind of statements which they believe to be true and that they aim to affect the receivers and readers by broadcasting their views. Additionally, upon the interpretation of the findings of this study, it can be assumed that creators don't have the power to direct change, despite the fact that they may hope for it.

5.2. Pedagogical implication

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, even though humor is taught in AFL classes, it is introduced in relation to semantics and syntax. The findings of the current study would help raise teachers' awareness of introducing humor from a pragmatic perspective in the AFL

classroom. Incorporating humor into the language classroom as a teaching tool would have a positive impact on language learners, providing materials rich in authentic linguistic and cultural input (Semiz, 2014). Understanding the humor of a foreign language will lead to effective communication between the AFL learners and native speakers. Hence, enhancing the competence of AFL learners in humor is important to help them establish confident and successful social interactions in an Arabic speaking community. However, the ambiguous nature of humor makes it a great challenge for AFL students to comprehend and understand it. Therefore, teachers have to expose their AFL learners to the pragmatics of humor gradually from the first day of classes, so that when they reach an advanced level, they will be able to speak to a native standard. It is necessary for language learners to be able to understand both the literal and implied meaning of any humorous input. Moreover, comprehending humor in a foreign language needs not only linguistic, but also social and cultural competence (Bell, 2007). Neglecting to teach humor in the classroom would deprive students of exposure to and acquisition of an important genre of language, especially in a country like Egypt where humor and jokes are considered essential part of Egyptian's every day communication.

This study offers a good collection of authentic political humorous texts which can help learners to expand their ability to use the language. It also introduces the sociocultural knowledge out of which the humor emerges by illustrating the context of the political and social background which stimulated FB users to create humor. This sociocultural knowledge helps provide learners with a scaffolding through which to comprehend humor, as well as the purpose for the use of humor.

The humorous posts examined in this study give learners an excellent opportunity to learn vocabulary, syntax, and semantics. Moreover, on the level of pragmatics, exploring the secondary or direct illocutionary acts performed in the literal meaning of humorous posts in the current study provides rich pragmatic material to AFL learners. They would enable AFL

learners to fulfill two types of communicative purposes: first, to comprehend the humor implied in the posts, and second direct illocutionary acts will enable learners to perform acts using the Arabic language. Examples of these are: how to ask questions; make requests or suggestions; state facts; announce news; thank, apologize, etc.

Furthermore, humor introduced in this study could help raise AFL learners' awareness of humorous interactions they could be exposed to on their FB timelines. Most probably AFL learners in Egypt have Egyptian FB connections who share humorous statements targeting different topics including politics.

5.3. Limitations of the study

Firstly, the interpretation of the pragmatics of the humorous posts investigated in this study relies mainly on the researcher's perspective, as the researcher followed the indirect speech acts framework which states that the hearer interprets the non-literal meaning taking into consideration the literal meaning, factual background, context in which the humor was created, and shared background with the post creators.

Secondly, this study was limited by the sample size. The humor in this study targeted the most significant events that took place in 2108, presidential elections and the increase in prices. After excluding memes, 59 posts targeting these topics were selected. The selection criteria for the targeted pages affected the sample size, since the pages had to be public, and to have no explicit political stance, while also being subscribed to by a large number of followers.

Thirdly, many political posts were excluded due to their multimodal features, such as memes. Memes require specific multimodal frameworks, due to their combination of visuals and texts, which are not supported by this study.

Fourthly, the posts all criticize politics, leaders, authorities, and difficult circumstances, while no posts criticizing those who are anti-government were found.

Finally, as the main focus of this research was to investigate the pragmatic functions of the humorous posts, minor attention has been given to secondary (direct speech acts) performed in the data of the study. The purpose of exploring secondary speech acts is only for the purpose of concluding the indirect meaning they perform. Therefore, there is no elaboration or further analysis regarding the secondary speech acts detected.

5.4. Suggestions for further research

This study provides a good starting point for further research on pragmatics of humor.

Several questions still remain to be answered, for instance, the intention of FB users who interact and share humorous posts, as well as the ways in which FB users perceive political humor, taking into consideration variables such as age, gender, and educational background. It would be an interesting topic of research to explore the factors associated with the use of humor such as age, gender, or education.

Moreover, while collecting data for the present study, the extensive use of internet memes has been observed. FB users interact very frequently through humorous memes which target many topics including politics. Therefore, humor introduced through internet memes could be an interesting topic for future work.

In addition, it has been also observed that the humor used in FB interaction is not limited to the political genre, it targets several genres including family and parenting problems, love and relationships, work and daily life, schools and education, and so on. The study could be replicated to explore the social functions of humor targeting these different genres.

Finally, the data of the current study could be analyzed using a discourse analysis framework to explore functions of humor based on the discourse devices used in the examined humorous posts.

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APPENDECIES

Appendix A: Sub themes of humor

Elections
Sub theme 1) Participation is dangerous
<p>1- كل واحد عنده جار مناكف ويريد أن يتخلص منه يرشحه للرئاسة .</p> <p>2- إلى كل من يراوده حلم الترشح لرئاسة الجمهورية اتغطى كويس وانت نايم بلاش تحرق قلب اهلك عليك.</p> <p>3- ياريت كل اللي ناويين يرشحوا نفسهم للرئاسة يجمعوا نفسهم ويطلعوا مع بعض يعلنوا ترشحهم مرة واحدة مش هنفضل نشوف خبر القبض عليهم واحد واحد مش فاضيين احنا</p> <p>4- انتي تخنتي</p> <p>ألو رياسة .. في واحد بيقولي انه هيرشح نفسه</p> <p>5- بتجيلي أفكار انتحارية يا دكتور زي إني انزل الانتخابات مثلا</p> <p>6- انت متهم بالترشح لرئاسة الجمهورية .</p>
Sub theme 2) the rival candidate
<p>1- هو المرشح موسى مصطفى موسى عنده خبر ان الانتخابات انهارة و عرف لجنته ولا لسة</p> <p>2- اللجنة العليا الوطنية للانتخابات تغلق باب الترشح وتعلن تقدم اثنين مرشحين بأوراقهم هم:</p> <p>عبد الفتاح السيسي</p> <p>واحد تاني مع عبد الفتاح السيسي</p> <p>3- الخبير الفلكي أحمد شاهين يعلن الترشح لرئاسة الجمهورية، السيسي مش لاقى قدامه مرشح أرضي جيلكم</p> <p>مرشح فضائي .</p> <p>4- في عهد مبارك كانوا بيستأجروا ناخبين و في عهد السيسي بيستأجروا مرشحين</p> <p>5- احنا البلد الوحيدة اللي عندها انتخابات و معندهاش مرشحين</p> <p>6- أنا طول عمري أسمع انهم بيدوروا على ناخبين، لكن أول مرة في حياتي أشوف حد بيدور على مرشحين</p>
Sub theme 3) the current president
<p>4- المرشحين للرئاسة:</p> <p>a. السيسي</p>

<p>b. عبد الفتاح السيسي</p> <p>c. الرئيس الحالي عبد الفتاح السيسي</p> <p>5- مش عارف ليه حاسس ان السيسي هيكسب الانتخابات دي</p> <p>6- عاجل :انسحاب الانتخابات نفسها أمام المرشح عبد الفتاح السيسي</p> <p>7- فتحوا باب الترشح للرئاسة و السيسي دخل وقفلوه بسرعة عشان البرد</p> <p>8- انت مش بئس اكثر من واحد نازل الانتخابات لوحده و خايف يخسر</p>
Sub theme 4) Authorities role
<p>1. وزارة الأوقاف: خطبة موحدة غدا الجمعة عن فضل عدم الترشح للانتخابات في الإسلام</p> <p>2. أنا باقتراح الداخلية تأسس مكتب مكافحة المترشحين للرئاسة</p> <p>3. إحالة أوراق المتخلفين عن التصويت في الانتخابات الرئاسية لفضيلة المفت</p> <p>4. الهيئة الوطنية للانتخابات: ندعو كل من تتوفر فيه شروط خوض الانتخابات الرئاسية يروح يسلم نفسه لأقرب قسم شرطة</p>
Sub theme 5 Freedom of expression
<p>1. محتاجين صوتك يوم 26 و 27 و 28 طب ويوم 29 يا فندم؟ لا من يوم 29 و رايح ماسمعش صوت أهلك خالص</p>
Sub theme (6) Results of the voting
<p>1- النتيجة من الكنترول</p> <p>المركز الأول: الناس المقاطعة</p> <p>المركز الثاني: عبد الفتاح السيسي</p> <p>المركز الثالث : الأصوات الباطلة</p> <p>المركز الرابع: موسى مصطفى موسى</p>
Sub theme (7) The elections law
<p>1. اللجنة العليا تعدل نظام الانتخابات لتصبح باقية تجدد للسيسي لوحدها كل اربع سنين</p>
Sub theme (8) Bad circumstances
<p>1. لو هينتخب السيسي في 2018 اتجوزيه، مستحيل تلاقي حد مهمما عملتي فيه وادتيه على دماغه و دماغ اللي جابوه يفضل متمسك بيكي ويحبك كدة</p>
Prices
Sub theme (1) The increase is sharp
<p>1. مش هنتصور واحنا ماسكين أيفون، دلوقتي هنتصور واحنا لابسين جاك</p>

2. كنا في أوائل الشتاء قبل اللي فات، زي اليومين دول كانت أسعار الجواكت بتمن الشرايات

3. البطاطس:

a. بيع: 13.95

b. شراء: 13.85

4. اسبوعين كمان و عشان تعمل صينية بطاطس تباع كليتك

5. تكاليف الجواز الحلال بقت عايز الها شغلانتين حرام

6. البطاطس يصل سعرها إلى 14 جنيه ويقرب من سعر الدولار

طب أغير فلوسي لبطاطس ولا استنى شوية؟

7. بابا مديني 7000 جنيه عشان أجيب لبس العيد، دا يتقاله ايه دا؟؟؟

8. لما المترو يبقى 7 جنيه رايح و جاي وباقي المواصلات 11 جنيه تفتكروا المرتب هيكفي المواصلات ولا أطلب

قرض من صندوق النقد الدولي؟

9. الناس معندهاش ضمير كدة ليه؟ كنت بتغدى في مطعم و طلبت صينية لحمه بالبطاطس، جابولي الصينية كلها

لحمه و مفيهاش غير ثلاث حنت بطاطس صغيرين

10. اشتغل واجتهد وحوش لحد ما يبقى عندك فلوس كتير وتقدر تعمل صنية بطاطس بالفراخ

11. محدش يكلمني عشان انهارة طابخين بطاطس ام 14 جنيه و الغرور هيقتلني

12. المفروض أي حد يشتري جاك توتوي السنة دي يتقبض عليه بتهمة الكسب الغير مشروع

Sub theme (2) prices' effect on social life, living standard, and level of consumption

1. نزلت أشتري حلاوة المولد زي كل سنة ولما لقيت سعرها عالي اكتشفت انها بدعة

2. الحمد لله الذي بنعمته تتم الصالحات امبارح كلنا صينية بطاطس في الفرن و انهارة كلنا بطاطس مقلية

3. أسف مش هينفع نكمل مع بعض انا من حلوان و انتي من المرح apologize

4. احنا تشتري عكاز بعشرين جنيه و تبقى التذكرة بنص جنيه و كله يبقى زي الفل.

5. أروح مشواري بالجحش الاسود ولا الحمار البيج؟

6. حد يعرف ميكانيكي شاطر؟؟ عايز أحول عربيتي زميلك

7. ألو، شيف شربيني؟؟ ممكن طريقة عمل البنزين في البيت؟

8. عايز كام لتر بنزين يا فندم؟ لا لتر ايه ماعدكش كائنات؟

Sub theme (3) Very bad situation

1. حضرتك انت قاعد على حجري؟ أيوة قاعد على حجرك هو أنا هدفع 7 جنيه و كمان هقف؟
 2. يا جماعة أنا شفت امبارح كابوس رهيب، قال ايه أنا لابس أسود ف أسود وواحد خط مترو الأنفاق من أوله لآخره
 3. هتقاطع المترو وتركب ميكروباص هنرفعك البنزين، هتقاطع الميكروباص و تقعد في البيت هنرفعك الكهرباء، هتمرض هنرفعك الدواء، هتقاطع كل دا هنرفعك انت
 4. مش هينسي المواطن رفع سعر تذكرة المترو غير زيادة سعر البنزين
 5. أجمل حاجة في الوضع الحالي ان مبقاش حد بيتكسف يقول معيش فلوس عشان بقت general status خلاص
 6. #هنستحمل_زيادة_البنزين و هنقلل استهلاكنا من البنزين ومن تذاكر المترو و الغاز و الكهرباء و الأكل و المياه و مش ضروري نعيش الكام سنة الجابين دول أصلا
- الواحد محتار يشتغل و يجيب حق البنزين ولا يقعد في البيت و يوفر بنزين

Sub theme (4) Psychological state

1. محتاج دكتور عيون شاطر.. بقالي مدة كل ما ابص في المحفظة عيني تدمع
2. بعد غلاء أسعار البنزين شربت علبتين سجاير وأنا قاعد أفكر أبطلها ازاي
3. على فكرة البطاطس مش كل حاجة ياما ناس فس بيتها بطاطس و مش سعيدة

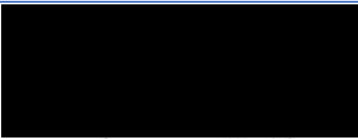
Sub theme (5) Government's policies

1. نتوجه بالشكر لحكومتنا الرشيدة على حرية التنفس و مجانية الأكسجين
2. والله نفسي أهاجر برة مصر ، بس الواحد في رقبته حكومة بيصرف عليها.

Sub theme (6) Future is worse

1. أهم قاعدة اتعلمناها في عصر السيسي: لا تؤجل شراء أي حاجة كنت عايز تشتريها إلى الغد
2. في 2030 لما مشروع السيسي يكمل هنقعد نفكر أيام غلاء الكهرباء و البنزين دي و نقوم نطفي الحطب و ننام


Appendix B: Elections' posts




Following

الهيئة الوطنية للانتخابات: ندعو كل من تتوفر فيه شروط
خوض الانتخابات الرئاسية يروح يسلم نفسه لأقرب قسم شرطة

Translate from Arabic



كل واحد عنده جار مناكف ويريد أن
يتخلص منه يرشحه للرئاسة



...

مش عارف ليه حاسس ان السيسي
هيكسب الانتخابات دي



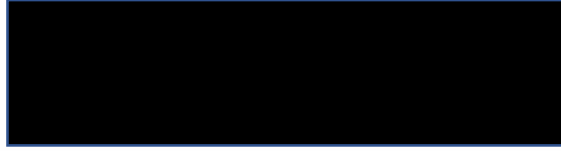
احنا البلد الوحيدة اللي عندها انتخابات
ومعندهاش مرشحين 😂



هو المرشح موسي مصطفى موسي
عنده خبر ان الانتخابات النهارده و
عرف لجنته ولا لسه 😁



_محتاجين صوتك يوم ٢٦ و ٢٧ و ٢٨
_طب ويوم ٢٩ يا فندم؟
_لا من يوم ٢٩ و رايح ما اسمعش
صوت أهلك خالص 😁
#الانتخابات_الرئاسية 🇪🇬



...

أنا باقترح الداخلية تأسيس مكتب
مكافحة المترشحين للرئاسة



انت مش بئس اكتر من واحد نازل
الانتخابات لوحده وخايف يخسر 😂



لو هينتخب السيسي في ٢٠١٨
اتجوزيه، مستحيل تلاقى حد مهما
عملتي فيه و ادتيه على دماغه و دماغ
اللي جابوه يفضل متمسك بيكي
ويحبك كده

الي كل من يراوده حلم الترشح لرئاسه
الجمهوريه اتغطي كويس و انت نايم و
بلاش تحرق قلب اهلك عليك

المرشحين للرئاسه
١-السيسي
٢-عبد الفتاح السيسي
٣-الرئيس الحالي عبد الفتاح السيسي 😂

وزارة الأوقاف : خطبة موحدة غدا الجمعة عن فضل عدم الترشح
للإنتخابات في الإسلام

يا ريت كل اللي ناويين يرشحوا
يجمعوا نفسهم ويطلعوا مع بعض يعلنوا ترشحهم
مرة واحدة مش هنفضل نشوف خبر القبض عليهم
واحد واحد مش فاضين احنا 😂

...

اللجنة العليا تعدل نظام الانتخابات
لتصبح باقة تجدد للسياسي لوحدها كل
أربع سنين


في عهد مبارك كانوا يستأجرو ناخبين وفي
عهد السيسي يستأجرو مرشحين 😄😄

إحالة أوراق المُتخلفين عن التصويت ف
الانتخابات الرئاسية لفضيلة المفتي

انتني تخنتي
ألو رياسة... في واحد بيقولي انه هيرشح نفسه



فتحوا باب الترشح للرئاسة والسياسي
دخل وقفلوه بسرعة عشان البرد



بتجيلي أفكار انتحارية يادكتور..
زي إني أنزل الانتخابات مثلاً

Appendix C: prices' posts



لما المترو يبقى ب٧ جنيه رايح وجاي
وباقى المواصلات ١١ جنيه تفتكروا
المرتب هايكفى المواصلات ولا اطلب
قرض من صندوق النقد الدولي ؟



am • 🌐



- حضرتك انت قاعد علي حجرى ؟
- ايوه قاعد علي حجرك هو انا هدف ٧ جنيه وكمان هقف

...



اروح مشواري بالجحش الاسود و لا الحمار البيج 😊



...

حد يعرف ميكانيكي شاطر؟
عايز أحول عربيتي زمبلك

عائز كام لتر بنزين يافندم؟
- لا لتر إيه ، معندكش كنزات؟!

دلوقتي مش هنتصور و احنا مسكين ايفون
دلوقتي هنتصور و احنا لبسين جاكيت !

كنا فى اوائل الشتاء قبل اللي فات.. زي
اليومين دول كانت اسعار الجواكيت
بتمن الشربات.. 😞

نتوجه بالشكر لحكومتنا
الرشيدة على حرية التنفس
ومجانية الاكسجين



محتاج دكتور عيون شاطر ..
بقالي مدة كل ما أبص في المحفظة
عيني تدمع ..



Follow

والله نفسى اهاجر برا مصر بس الواحد فى رقبتة حكومه
بيصرف عليها.

بعد غلاء اسعار السجاير
شربت علبتين سجاير
وانا قاعد بفكر ازاي
ابطلها